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A HISTORY
OF THE
ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

(HARDWICK)

A HISTORY
OF THE
ARTICLES OF RELIGION :

TO WHICH IS ADDED
A SERIES OF DOCUMENTS,
FROM A.D. 1536 TO A.D. 1615 ;
TOGETHER WITH
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.

BY THE LATE
CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A.,
ARCHDEACON OF ELY.

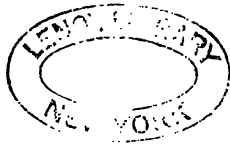
THIRD EDITION, REVISED,
BY THE REV. FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A.,
Author of a "History of the Book of Common Prayer."

WITH AN ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.

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TO THE
REV. JAMES AMIRAUX JEREMIE, D.D.,
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT CAMBRIDGE,
AND SUB-DEAN OF LINCOLN,

This Endeavour

TO PROMOTE THE CULTIVATION OF ONE DEPARTMENT OF A STUDY
OVER WHICH HE PRESIDES
WITH EQUAL COURTESY, ELOQUENCE, AND ERUDITION,
IS
RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY
INSCRIBED.

"It is much to be regretted that those, who have either professedly or incidentally written upon our Articles, have not bestowed that particular attention upon the history of their compilation which the subject itself seems to require; the scope of every attempt having rather been to discover what construction peculiar expressions would admit, as applicable to the favourite controversies of a more recent period, than to determine their sense by ascertaining the sources from which they were primarily derived."—ARCHBISHOP LAURENCE.

"The History of the Articles will afford the true key, in most critical points, to their right interpretation."—PROFESSOR BLUNT.

PREFACE.

THESE Chapters are intended to supply a want which has been long and keenly felt by Theological Students both at home and in far-distant branches of the Anglican Communion. The idea of undertaking such a work is traceable to suggestions of the late Archbishop Laurence, who complained that while the *doctrine* of the Articles, abstractedly considered, was evolved and harmonized in a succession of able treatises, no regular attempt was made in any of those treatises to illustrate the framing of the Formulary itself, by placing it distinctly in connection with the kindred publications of an earlier and later date, and by expounding it as the peculiar product and reflection of the Reformation-movement.

Much indeed of the material of this work is indicated, if not actually gathered to our hands, in documentary annals of the English Reformation: yet as many readers who are anxious to be accu-

rately informed, are nevertheless precluded from consulting the huge volumes of Strype, Le Plat, or Wilkins, it was thought that a mere hand-book like the present, if fairly put together, would be rendering as important service to the Church at large as some of the analogous elucidations of the Book of Common Prayer.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE Second Edition of this Work contained a considerable amount of fresh matter. It had been in many places re-written; and the volume was just ready for publication at the time of the author's sudden death. It was in fact his last finished work, his legacy to the Church, in an historical elucidation of its Rules of Faith and Discipline. One only of the series of documents seemed wanting to its completeness. The author had given a collation of the Forty-five Articles of 1552, from the original MS., signed by six Royal Chaplains, which is preserved among the State Papers. This document is now printed at full length, in Appendix III. In other respects, this is a reprint of the Second Edition, as revised by the author.

Self-educated, or with very scanty help, as the son of a small Yorkshire farmer, Charles Hardwick is an example of what may be done by industry to supply defects of school, and of the use of those endowments in our Colleges, which were appropriated

by their founders to certain schools or counties, but which have now been made to give way to a general system of open competition. It was one of these wisely-appointed bye-Foundations—a Yorkshire Fellowship at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge—which gave Charles Hardwick a small but sufficient income, with a home in the University, and time and means to devote himself to those studies in Ecclesiastical History and Divinity which were congenial to him. The result was the production, between the years 1845 and 1859, of two editions of the *History of the XXXIX. Articles of Religion*; the *History of the Christian Church during the Mediæval Period*, and in the *Reformation Period*; and four parts of a disquisition upon the Religions of the World, entitled *Christ and other Masters*, issued as the Christian Advocate's Publications for the years 1855 to 1858. Besides these original works, Mr. Hardwick prepared, for the Syndics of the University Press, the new Cambridge edition of Sir Roger Twysden's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed 1^o Eliz.*, with much additional matter found in the author's interleaved copy in the Library of the British Museum; to which he added, as a companion volume, Fullwood's *Roma Ruit; or, the Pillars of Rome broken*: each of these books requiring much labour in the examination of references. He also completed Mr. Kemble's edition of the *Saxon and Northumbrian*

Version of St. Matthew's Gospel: finding time also to print two MS. poems for the Percy Society, and an *Historical Enquiry touching St. Catharine of Alexandria*, for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. This work fell naturally in his way while he was engaged as Editor of the Catalogue of MSS. in the Cambridge University Library, his own especial share being the early English literature. His name also appears in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials, &c.*, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, for which he edited, in 1858, the *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*; and he had commenced work upon Higden's *Polychronicon* for the same series.

His Fellowship also provided him with a title to Holy Orders; and, although he did not hold any cure, he often assisted his friends, and especially the Rev. G. Maddison at All Saints Church. His practised hand and sound knowledge, combined with a serious mind, made him an able writer of sermons. He preached before the University, in Advent 1850; and the Bishop of London (Blomfield) appointed him as the Cambridge Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, for the two years, March 1851 to March 1853; of which a record remains in a volume of *Twenty Sermons for Town Congregations*.

Having completed the History of the Articles in the summer of 1859, he commenced an examination into the authenticity of the Second Epistle of St. Peter, which he intended to be his Christian Advocate's

Publication for 1859, the fifth and last year of his holding that office. A few pages had been written, and he had been appointed by the Bishop (Turton) to the Archdeaconry of Ely, when his work on earth ceased, at the age of thirty-eight years.

Archdeacon Hardwick was taking a short holiday in the Pyrenees, and died by a fall on the Pic de Sauvegarde, August 19, 1859. His mortal remains lie buried in the south-west corner in the Protestant portion of the Cemetery at Luchon.

F. P.

Witton, 1876.

In Memoriam.

“WHATSOEVER THY HAND FINDETH TO DO,
DO IT WITH THY MIGHT.”

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HISTORY

OF THE

ARTICLES OF RELIGION.



CHAPTER I.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

THE ARTICLES are a distinct production of the sixteenth century. They were constructed step by step amid the heavings of those mighty controversies, which enlivened and convulsed the Church of England at the time of the Reformation. The original design of the compilers will be, therefore, ascertained exactly in proportion to the clearness of our view as to the leading character of the event which brought them into being.

This, indeed, is not the place for entering on the details of a question so momentous and so complicated; but no history of the Articles can be regarded as complete, which does not lead us backward to the standing-ground of the compilers, and enable us from thence to estimate the special fitness of that manifesto as one permanent expression of English orthodoxy.

Now that 'reformation' of some kind or other had been long the passionate cry in almost every province of the Western Church is patent and indisputable. Those writers who are loudest in denouncing the *Lutheran* movement (as Bellarmine and Bossuet and Möhler) have been driven to confess that in the age immediately preceding, the whole system of the Church was grievously out of joint. 'According to the testimony of those who were then alive,

there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals no discipline, in sacred literature no erudition, in divine things no reverence; religion was almost extinct.¹ Examples of the prevalent disorganisation could be multiplied indefinitely.² They formed the staple of *gravamina* and *reformanda* which were pressed on the attention of successive popes and kings, of parliaments, of councils, and of diets. They gave birth to 'Reformation-colleges,' like that of Constance,³ and 'select committees' of cardinals and other prelates, such as that appointed by pope Paul III. in 1538, 'De emendanda Ecclesia';⁴ and although it must be granted that the acts of these reformers do not often penetrate below the surface, there can be no doubt that in the honest sifting and corrections of 'disciplinary abuses,' they were sometimes touching more or less directly on higher and deeper points, with which the outward blemish or excrescence was vitally connected. In addition to such milder efforts emanating from the chief authorities in church and state, there was no lack of earnest individuals, friars, clerics, monks and laymen, who contended that a reformation, to be really efficacious, must commence with deeds of daring, not to say of violence—with rooting up the aftergrowths of error, that had smothered, or at least obscured, the genuine dogmas of the Gospel.⁵ Such was

¹ Bellarm. *Concio* xxviii. Opp. vi. 206, Colon. 1617. Bossnet's admission will be found in his *Hist. des Variations*, liv. i. § 1: and Möhler's in the *Symbolik*, II. 31, 32, Engl. trans. and in his *Schriften und Aufsätze*, II. 28, 29, Regensburgh, 1840.

² See, for instance, the present writer's *Ch. Hist.* 'Middle Age,' pp. 371—413, and 'Reformation,' pp. 1—6, pp. 274—300, ed. 1874.

³ Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Constance*, II. 309 sq., Amsterdam, 1727, has given a list of the resolutions passed in this assembly.

⁴ Le Plat, *Monumenta Concil. Trident.* II. 598, Lovan. 1782. It is a significant fact that this document was afterwards thrust by one of its own authors into the 'Index Prohibitorum:' see Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, pp. 48, 49. If more decisive proof of its genuineness be called for, see a letter entitled *Johan. Sturmii Cardinalibus cæterisque prælatibus delectis*, Argentorati, 1538, where a copy of the Report itself is added.

⁵ The terms in which the author of the *Philosophie Positive* alludes to these 'Reformers before the Reformation' are well worthy of notice, especially as M. Comte's religious sympathies, if he had any,

the prevailing spirit of the Wycliffites in England, yet the movement they originated here and also in Bohemia issued in comparative failure. Many of their principles were vitiated from the first by feverish, wild, or revolutionary ideas: and hence it was that when *the* Reformation of this Church and country was accomplished, the promoters of it took their stand upon a very different basis.

How then did the *Church of England*, in the sixteenth century, meet the urgent clamour of the age, and enter on the reformation of abuses? She revived the ancient theory of national independence, as distinguished from the modern theory of papal universalism.

Her guiding principle was this:—A national Church, and therefore the 'Ecclesia Anglicana,' through the medium of its representative synods, acting under royal licence, has authority from Christ Himself to extirpate abuses, whether of doctrine or of discipline, of ritual or of polity, existing within its own jurisdiction; nay, is absolutely bound by its allegiance to Christ and by regard to the well-being of the people committed to its charge, to vindicate and re-affirm the truths of Christianity, as once for all delivered to the saints and current in the Early Church.

The nature of the jurisdiction which prescribed all future changes in our own ecclesiastical system had been indicated by the Preamble to Stat. 24^o Hen. VIII. c. 12 (A.D. 1532—3), which proved the harbinger of Reformation. There it is declared, on the authority of 'sundrie olde autentike histories and cronicles,' that this realm of England is an empire made up of spirituality and temporality, and that it has been the custom when any cause 'of the Lawe Devine,' or 'of spirituall lernyng,' came in question, to have such controversy decided 'by that parte of the said bodye politike called the spirituatlie, nowe beyng

were entirely on the side of Mediævalism. 'The Lutheran revolution,' he writes (Liv. vi. c. x), 'produced no innovation, in regard to discipline, ecclesiastical orders or dogma, that had not been perseveringly proposed long before; so that the success of Luther, after the failure of premature reformers, was mainly due to the ripeness of the time: a confirmation of which is found in the rapid and easy propagation of the decisive explosion.'

usually called *the Englishe Churche*, which alwaies hath been reputed, and also founde, of that sorte that both for knowlege, integritie, and sufficiencie of nombre, it hath ben alwaies thought, and is also at this houre, sufficiente and mete of itselife, *without the intermedlyng of any exterior personne or personnes*, to declare and determyne all suche doubttes and to administre all suche offices and dneties as to their romes [rooms] spirituall doth apperteyne.'

Nor in asserting this great principle of national independence did our legislators overstep the powers which had been claimed and exercised by the domestic synods of the best and purest ages. Till the founding and consolidation of the papal monarchy such bodies had been always held not only competent but morally responsible for the correction of all heresies and errors which sprang up in a particular Church. 'This right of provincial synods, that they might decree in causes of faith, and in cases of reformation, where corruptions had crept into the sacraments of Christ, was practised much above a thousand years ago by many, both national and provincial synods. For the council at Rome under pope Sylvester, anno 324, condemned Photinus and Sabellius (and their heresies were of a high nature against the faith). The council of Gangra about the same time [between 325 and 380] condemned Eustathius for his condemning of marriage as unlawful. The first council at Carthage, being a provincial, condemned rebaptization, much about the year 348. The provincial council at Aquileia, in the year 381, in which St. Ambrose was present, condemned Palladius and Secundinus for embracing the Arian heresy. The second council of Carthage handled and decreed the belief and preaching of the Trinity; and this a little after the year 424. The council of Milevis in Africa, in which St. Augustine was present, condemned the whole course of the heresy of Pelagius, that great and bewitching heresy, in the year 416. The second council of Orange, a provincial, too, handled the great controversies about grace and free-will, and set the Church right in them in the year 444 [529]. The third council of Toledo (a national one), in the year 589, determined many things against the Arian

heresy, about the very prime articles of faith, under fourteen several anathemas. The fourth council of Toledo did not only handle matters of faith, for the reformation of that people, but even added also some things to the Creed which were not *expressly* delivered in former creeds. Nay, the bishops did not only practise this to condemn heresies in national and provincial synods, and so reform these several places and the Church itself by parts, but they did openly challenge this as their right and due, and that without any leave asked of the see of Rome; for in this fourth council of Toledo they decree, 'That if there happen a cause of faith to be settled, a general, that is, a national synod of all Spain and Galicia shall be held thereon;' and this in the year 643: where you see it was then Catholic doctrine in all Spain that a national synod might be a competent judge in a cause of faith. And I would fain know what article of faith doth more concern all Christians in general, than that of *Filioque*?—and yet the Church of Rome herself made that addition to the Creed without a general council. . . . And if this were practised so often and in so many places, why may not a national council of the Church of England do the like?'¹

The earliest triumph which these principles achieved on their resuscitation in the sixteenth century was the absolute repudiation of the ultra-papal claims. Originally independent of the Latin Church, this country had been gradually reduced into a state of bondage. Roman modes of thought so largely intermingled in our Anglo-Saxon Christianity had overpowered the influences exerted for a time by the surviving British Church and by the missionaries out of Ireland; till at length the deepest deference, not to say servility, had been manifested by the king, the clergy, and the people, in their dealings with the court of Rome. Anterior to the Norman Conquest the predominant feeling might be one of gratitude and filial reverence,—such indeed as we can trace at present in the language of our brethren in America while reviewing their relations to the Church of England: but as soon as ever

¹ Archbp. Laud, *Conference with Fisher*, Sect. 24, pp. 126, 127, Oxf. 1839.

the pretensions of the papacy had grown into the towering shape which they assumed in Hildebrand and his successors, the demeanour of the English was considerably altered, and in speaking of the Roman pontiffs they betrayed from time to time the workings of that ardent nationality which issued in the Reformation. From the period of the troubles of archbishop Anselm—when ‘the king and his nobles, the bishops also, and others of inferior rank, were so indignant as to assert that rather than surrender the privileges of their forefathers, they would depart from the Roman Church’¹—until the closing struggle in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the encroachments of the pontiff had been calling up a spirit of determined opposition; and in cases even where his interference might be salutary, and as such was cordially desired by the great body of the nation, it is quite impossible to watch the temper of the English parliament,² without discovering many a trace of that profound exasperation which eventually repelled all foreign intermeddling, and gave freedom to the English Church.

The usurpations of the papacy consisted in the main of these particulars:

- (1) A judicial power in matters ecclesiastical, or cases of appeal.
- (2) The right of granting licences and dispensations.
- (3) The liberty of sending legates into England and through them of overruling the domestic synods.
- (4) The power of granting investiture to bishops, of confirming their elections, and dispensing the church-patronage.
- (5) The privilege of receiving the first-fruits, the tenths of English benefices, and goods of clergymen who died intestate.

¹ Archbp. Anselm's *Letter to Paschalis II.*, in Twysden's *Vindication*, p. 16, Camb. edit. The Constitutions of Clarendon ‘were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy and system of hierarchy introduced by Gregory VII.’ Turner, *Middle Ages*, I. 246, ed. 1830; and at one time there was a general idea that Henry II. would have anticipated the resistance of his eighth namesake, p. 259.

² See a list of *protestant acts during the Middle Ages*, in Fullwood, *Roma Ruit*, chapters VIII.—XIII.

We have no concern at present with the motives of the English monarch in whose reign this country was relieved from foreign usurpations. What is really important to us is the fact that Henry manifested no desire, in re-asserting his prerogative, to suppress or supersede the action of the English spirituality. It was the Church herself, canonically represented, that came forward to resolve the arduous questions mooted in this country. All of them were severally examined on their own distinctive merits, just as similar controversies were discussed and settled by the Church of earlier times. In 1534, for instance, after statutes pointing in the same direction had been carried in the parliament, it was deliberated in the two provincial synods of Canterbury and York, *Whether the bishop of Rome has in Holy Scripture any greater jurisdiction, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop?*—and the question was then answered in the negative with scarcely one dissentient voice. This judgment was again corroborated by the English universities, after five weeks of deliberation, and was echoed by cathedral chapters and conventual bodies; so that, with the almost solitary exception of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, the verdicts of the several church-authorities were adverse to the old pretensions of the Roman pontiff.¹

The general grounds on which this memorable judgment had been based, are stated in the following extracts from contemporary documents. They prove, what is elsewhere apparent, that the English prelates and divines were instigated by no spirit of ecclesiastical revolution, but proceeded to their task deliberately, in armour they had drawn from their familiar converse with Christian antiquity.

‘I believe that these particular Churches, in what place of the world soever they be congregated, be the very parts, portions, or members of this Catholic and Universal Church. And that between them there is indeed no difference in superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, neither that any one of them is head or sovereign over the other; but that they be all equal in power and dignity, and be all grounded and builded upon one foundation

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiv. 487—527, ed. 1728; Wilkins, *Concil.* III. 748 sq.

And therefore I do believe that the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called the Catholic Church, but only a particular member thereof, and cannot challenge or vindicate of right, and by the Word of God, to be head of this Universal Church, or to have any superiority over the other Churches of Christ which be in England, France, Spain, or in any other realm, but that they be all free from any subjection unto the said Church of Rome, or unto the minister or bishop of the same. And I believe also that the said Church of Rome, with all the other particular Churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but one Catholic Church or body And therefore I protest and acknowledge that in my heart I abhor and detest all heresies and schisms whereby the true interpretation and sense of Scripture is or may be perverted. And do promise, by the help of God, to endure unto my life's end in the right profession of faith and doctrine of the Catholic Church.¹

If it be urged that the rejection of the papal claims is made to turn almost exclusively upon a *theory* of the Church, another extract from the same book will bring before us the historical reasons which had weight among the members of the English synod:

'As for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy. Sith the which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given unto him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general² councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtilty and craft, and specially by colluding with great kings and princes; sometime training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny: whereby the said bishops

¹ *Institution of a Christian Man*; A.D. 1537; 'Formularies of Faith,' pp. 55—57, Oxf. 1825.

² This epithet was applied at the time of the Reformation to other synods besides those which were strictly *œcumenical*. (Cf. Art. XXI. of the present series.)

of Rome aspired and arose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world, and that under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the Gospel:¹ wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's Word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive Church, and also do manifestly violate as well the holy canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the Catholic Church, assembled in the first general Councils: and finally they do transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general Councils, among the which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same be begun, and that by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his own diocese or province. And divers such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said Councils, to repress and take away out of the Church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea and abhor, (as a thing clean contrary to the Gospel, and the decrees of the Church,) that any bishop of Rome or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him the title and name of 'the universal bishop,' or of 'the head of all priests,' or of 'the highest priest,' or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, neither in

¹ For this reason the point brought before Convocation in 1534 was respecting the *Scripturalness* of the papal claims.

Scripture, neither in the writings of any authentic doctor or author of the Church, being within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves; but that they were all equal in power, order, authority and jurisdiction. And that there is now, and sith the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference among the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive Church, for the conservation of good order and unity of the Catholic Church; and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling.’¹

This subject, when resumed soon after in the ‘Necessary Doctrine for any Christian Man’ (1543), was handled in precisely the same fashion, and elucidated by still further references to history and canon-law.²

It is impossible indeed to study the productions of the early Reformers without feeling that their aim had never been to found a novel Church or system of their own, but rather to re-edify and re-invigorate the system of their fathers which was rapidly falling to decay. They did not wish to break away in a schismatic temper from the rest of Christendom, but only to extinguish the unlawful jurisdiction of a proud and bold usurper, and, by following in the footsteps of the primitive Church, to rescue for their nation many a pure and evangelic element of faith, of feeling, and of ritual, which had long been deadened or distorted in the speculations of the leading schoolmen.³ As these points have been so frequently insisted on with reference to the Church of England, the production here of further evidence

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 117, 118.

² pp. 282—286.

³ See Field, *Of the Church*, i. 165 sqq. and especially Appendix to Book III., ‘wherein it is clearely proved that the Latine, or West Church in which the Pope tyrannized, was, and continued a true, orthodox, and protestant Church, and that the devisers and maintainers of Romish errors and superstitious abuses, were only a faction in the same, at the time when Luther, not without the applause of all good men, published his propositions against the prophane abuse of papal indulgences.’ ii. 1—387, ed. E.H.S. 1849.

is deemed superfluous:¹ but the reader may be interested to observe that the same principle of reverence for the primitive faith was no less definitely advocated in a foreign document, drawn up by certain of the Lutheran states, (March 5, 1537) and rendered into English: 'For the sklaunder is moost fals,' they write, 'which our aduersaries do oftentymes cast forth, that errours somtyme condemned are scattede abrode and olde heresydes renewed of our men; and therfore they denye that ther is any nede of tryall. Nother is it onye harde thyng to refute this sklaunder, our Confession² once shewed fourth. For thys pure

¹ e.g. 'Reformatio non aurum abstulit, sed purgavit a luto: non vel fundamenta evertit, vel parietes diruit aut tecta, sed vepres solum excidit, et fimum ejecit: non carnem, ossa aut sanguinem corpori detraxit, sed saniem et humores pestiferos expulit. Aut si clarius hæc dici velis: quicquid aureum, solidum, fundamentale, quicquid catholicum et antiquum est, retinuit: ea solum quæ internis sordibus vestra, lutea, morbida, et fundamento assuta, quicquid novum, hæreticum, idololatrium, aut antichristianum erat, amputavit. De substantia antiquæ et catholicæ fidei, nihil quidquam a nobis immutatum: quicquid tale est amplectimur ambabus ulnis, exosculamur, tuemur.' Crakanthorp, *Defensio Eccl. Anglican.* p. 601, ed. Wordsworth, 1847. The same is even more distinctly affirmed by Bp. Overall (then dean of St. Paul's) in the Convocation of 1605, where he was prolocutor (*Camb. Univ. MS.* Gg. i 29, p. 158). He contends: 'Nihil nos in doctrina, religione, ecclesia, ministerio ac ordine ecclesiastico, sacris et sacramentis, aut ulla re alia ad Ecclesiam Christianam et Catholicam pertinente, essentielle et necessarium detraxisse aut immutasse, ab illa forma doctrinæ et religionis quam a Christo et Apostolis traditam, in Primitiva Ecclesia receptam, agnitam, stabilitam fuisse constat: sed tantum nævos et labes, superstitiones et abusus, supervacanea et non necessaria, quæ temporis tractu hominumque vitio accesserant et irrepserant, et tanquam zizania, diaboli invidia, superseminata sunt expurgasse: idque non inordinate, turbulenter, temere, ad hominum privatorum placita ac decreta; sed publica et synodica autoritate, justa consultatione et maturo judicio legitime procedente, juxta Verbum Dei, consensum Patrum, usum veterum Synodorum, ac præxim antiquioris et purioris Ecclesiæ.'

² The allusion is to the *Augsburg Confession*, where, among other statements of a like character, it is declared: 'Hæc fere summa est doctrinæ apud nos, in qua cerni potest, nihil inesse, quod discrepet a Scripturis, vel ab ecclesia Catholica, vel ab ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex Scripturis nota est (*Germ. aus der Väter Schrift.*)' *Confessio August.* Pars i. § xxii.: *Libri Symbol. Eccl. Lutheran.* p. 25, ed. Francke, 1847. Bucer, in like manner, did not scruple to occupy the same ground as late as 1544: see the *Scripta Duo Adversaria D.*

doctryne of the Gospel whiche we haue embraced is, wythout doute, euen the verye consente of the catholyke Church of Christ: as the testimonies of the olde Church and of holye fathers do euydentlye declare. For we do not receaue or approue any wycked opynions, or such as fyghte with the consent of the holy fathers; yee rather in many artikles we do renew the teachynges of the old synodes and fathers, which the latter age had put out of the way, and for them had geuen forth other false and conterfette doctrynes, wyth the which oure aduersaryes do shamefully fyghte wyth the judgements of the fathers and authoryte of the synodes.’²

Barthol. Latomi et Martini Buceri, p. 5. Argentor. 1544: ‘Statutum autem habeo decertare veris armis et instrumentis, *hoc est*, Scripturis, traditionibus vere apostolicis et sententiis catholicis ac orthodoxis S. Patrum, non convitiis.’ He justly discriminates, however, between the two authorities, Scripture and Church-tradition (e.g. pp. 136, 137), asserting that the Fathers are to be accepted by us ‘*ut testes, non ut authores, sacrorum dogmatum vel ceremoniarum.*’

² *The Causes why the Germanes will not go, nor consente unto that Councel*, etc. (the proposed synod of Mantua) sign. A. v. Sowthwarke, 1537. The original is printed in Le Plat, *Monumenta*, II. 577.

CHAPTER II.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

THE observations made at the conclusion of the previous chapter have enabled us to understand the general drift and purpose of the first of the Reformed Confessions, published in the spring of 1530, and therefore nearly three years anterior to the elevation of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury. It was this remarkable document which suggested the idea so generally adopted in the middle of the sixteenth century; and had no further basis of affinity subsisted between it and our own ARTICLES OF RELIGION, it might fairly have demanded at our hands a more than passing notice.

But there is a second and imperative reason for embracing an account of the Augsburg Confession in the limits of the present volume. That Confession is most intimately connected with the progress of the English Reformation; and besides the influence which it cannot fail to have exerted by its rapid circulation in our country, it contributed directly, in a large degree, to the construction of the public Formularies of Faith put forward by the Church of England. The XIII. Articles, drawn up, as we shall see, in 1538, were based almost entirely on the language of the great Germanic Confession; while a similar expression of respect is no less manifest in the Articles of Edward VI., and consequently in that series which is binding now upon the conscience of the English clergy.

For this reason it is necessary to ascertain the temper and position of the Wittenberg Reformers in the year 1530, when they laid a formal record of their tenets at the feet of Charles V.

Now it is clear that since the meeting of the Diet of Worms in 1521, the movement, of which Luther was the ruling spirit, had been growing far more moderate in its

tone,¹ and far more purely theological. Its earlier vehemence had been expended in decrying all the disciplinary abuses of the age, and the extravagant pretensions of the Roman pontiff. It had afterwards entered for a while into a partial union with the bolder and less-balanced followers of Zwingli, and had so incurred the risk of falling in with his political maxims, and accepting the more neoteric of his theological opinions: but the conference held at Marburg² in 1529 had proved conclusive, both to others and themselves, that the two schools of reformers (Swiss and Saxon) were in many ways divergent, and that warmly as they might agree in their repudiation of 'Romish' errors, it was quite impossible to bring them, either by persuasion or by pressure, to subscribe a common formulary of faith.

One great historian of the period furnishes an apt epitome of the contending factions in the masterly contrast he has drawn between the animus and idiosyncrasy of their respective leaders: 'Whereas Luther wished to retain everything in the existing ecclesiastical institutions that was not at variance with the express words of Scripture, Zwingli was resolved to get rid of everything that could not be maintained by a direct appeal to Scripture. Luther took up his station on the ground already occupied by the Latin Church; his desire was only to purify, to put an end to the contradictions between the doctrines of the Church and the Gospel. Zwingli, on the other hand, thought it necessary to restore, as far as possible, the primitive and simplest condition of the Church; he aimed at a complete revolution.'³

¹ See a detailed account of Luther's consternation at the rise of Anabaptism and the outbreak of the Peasants' War, in Hardwick's *Reform*. pp. 37 sq.

² Ranke, *Reformation in Germany*, III. 189 sqq. Engl. Trans. 1847. Luther had despaired of this conference from the first, and his language at the close of it was most pregnant: 'Ihr habt einen andern Geist als wir.' See Daniel's *Cod. Liturg. Eccl. Reform.* 'Proleg.' § 1, Lips. 1851.

³ *Ibid.* III. 86, 87. 'The Reformers [*i.e.* the Zwinglians, as opposed to the Protestants or Lutherans] would have nothing but the simple Word. The same end was proposed in all the practices of the Church. A new form of baptism was drawn up, in which all the additions "which have no ground in God's Word" were omitted. The next step was the alteration of the mass. Luther had contented

The peculiar features of this contrast could not fail to be imprinted on the minds of all the Wittenberg reformers when, immediately after the great breach at Marburg, they proceeded with the compilation of the Augsburg formulary.

The idea of presenting an apology for their religion was suggested by Pontanus (or Brück), the senior chancellor of Saxony;¹ and on obtaining the consent of his master, the elector John, the chief promoters of the object took as the main basis of their work a series of somewhat older Articles, which had been carefully compiled in the previous year. This document was known by the name of the 'Schwabach Articles,'—so entitled from the convent where it was adopted (Oct. 16, 1529), as the indispensable condition of membership in a reforming league. It was also in its turn no more than the corrected version of a test which had in vain been offered to the Zwinglian delegates some days before in the great meeting held at Marburg² (Oct. 3).

The Schwabach Articles are seventeen in number.³ They imply in their whole structure the profound and almost fundamental separation, which was thought to have grown up between the Lutheran body and those who had

himself with the omission of the words relating to the doctrine of sacrifice, and with the introduction of the sacrament in both kinds. Zwingli established a regular love-feast (Easter, 1525):' p. 88.

¹ The following was the advice given by Pontanus (March 14, 1530): 'Dieweil Kais. Mt. Ausschreiben vermag, dass eins Itzlichen Opinion und Meinung gehört soll werden [*i.e.* at the ensuing Diet,] will uns fur gut ansehen, dass solche Meinung, darauf unsers Theils bisanher gestanden und verharret, ordentlich in Schriften zusammen gezogen werden mit gründlicher Bewährung derselbigen aus göttlicher Schrift, damit man solchs in Schriften furzutragen hat, wo man den Ständen auch die Prediger in den Handlungen die Sachen furzutragen lassen je nit würde verstaten wollen.' Förstemann, *Urkunden-buch zu der Gesch. des Reichstages zu Augsburg in J. 1530*, I. 42 sqq. It is clear from the imperial edict, as well as from other sources, that the Augsburg Confession was *not meant to be a complete system of doctrine*, but only an apologetic statement of the Lutheran position with respect to different subjects actually in dispute: cf. Guerike, *Kircheng.* II. 174 (note).

² Ranke, *Reform.* III. 197.

³ See them at length in Weber, *Kritische Gesch. der Augsb. Conf.* I. App. 2.

persisted in their predilections for the rival school of Zwingli (or the German-speaking Swiss).

We have no reason, therefore, to anticipate that when Melancthon was deputed to remodel the 'Schwabach Articles,' and to insert additional matter on the subject of ecclesiastical abuses, he was acting in the least degree as the exponent of other than his own communion; and on studying the result of his endeavours in the Augsburg Confession, the inference which might thus have been derived from general knowledge of the times, is found to be supported by internal testimony. That production is distinctly *Lutheran*,—opposed to Zwinglian tenets on all controverted points, and breathing the same cordial deference for the teaching of the past,¹ which characterises nearly all the writings of Melancthon. In the mildness of its tone, the gracefulness of its diction, and the general perspicuity of its arrangement, it is worthy of its gifted author: while in theological terminology it everywhere adheres, as closely as the truth permitted, to existing standards of the Western Church. Melancthon seems indeed to have been confident that he was treading in the steps of St. Augustine and the Early Fathers; all his protests were, accordingly, confined to modern innovations and distortions by which sectaries and schoolmen had been gradually corrupting the deposit of the Christian faith.

A draft of this Confession, which was first made in Latin, and sent (May 11) to Luther, then at Coburg, was accompanied by a request from the Elector of Saxony, that he would read and revise it with the greatest caution. His reply (May 15) expresses the entire satisfaction with which he had perused the labours of his colleague. 'I have read over Mr. Philip's *Apology* (the original name of the *Confession*): it pleases me very much. I know not how to improve or alter anything, if that would not indeed be unbecoming in me, for I cannot tread so gently and

¹ The following statement of his was quoted with peculiar satisfaction by Bp. Overall (*Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. i. 29, p. 161*): 'Novi dogmatis in Ecclesia Dei nec autor esse volo nec defensor.' It is found in Melancthon's *Works*, II. 824, ed. Bretschneider.

softly. Christ our Lord grant that it may bring forth abundant fruit, even as we hope and pray.¹

A fresh revision by Melancthon and others, more especially by the chancellor Pontanus, was not terminated till the 31st of May,² when copies of the Latin Articles³ were put into the hands of all the Lutheran princes who were present at the Diet. It is probably to the effect of criticisms which it received in this interval that we should attribute not a few of the various readings which appear in all the earlier editions.⁴ The revision was in truth unfinished when a message from the emperor informed the Lutherans that he would listen to their Apology on the 25th of June. Accordingly a German version, also from the pen of Melancthon, was on that day read aloud to the assembled States at Augsburg in the chapter-room of the episcopal palace.⁵ This copy of the work, as well as the Latin original, was then delivered to the emperor, but not until it had received the signatures of the Elector of Saxony and other members of the Diet, who expressed themselves in favour of the Lutheran theology.⁶

After the above description of the circumstances which attended its original presentation, we may now proceed to give an abstract of its principal contents. It consists of two Parts, the first having reference to matters of faith, the second to ecclesiastical or disciplinary abuses. The former is distributed in twenty-two articles; the latter in seven.

The first article is entitled 'De Deo,' and in it the

¹ Luther's *Briefe*, iv. 17, ed. De Wette.

² *Libri Symbolici Eccl. Lutheran.* ed. Francke, Lips. 1847, Prolegom. p. xvi. note (10).

³ Melancthon next undertook the German version, which was completed on the 14th of June. *Ibid.* p. xvii.

⁴ See Ranke, III. 274; Guericke, II. 176. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the emperor, the Confession passed through seven editions in the course of 1530. Francke, *ubi supra*, p. xxiv.

⁵ Ranke, III. 277.

⁶ The names stand in the following order: John, the elector of Saxony; George, the markgrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, duke of Lüneburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; John Frederick, electoral prince of Saxony; Francis, duke of Lüneburg; Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; the senate and magistracy of Nuremberg; and the senate of Reutlingen.

Lutheran states declare their full acceptance of the Catholic definitions touching the Unity of the Divine Essence, and the Trinity of the Divine Persons. They also are equally prepared to execrate all heresies by which this doctrine of the Church has been impugned in ancient and modern times.¹

The second article is on the subject of original sin ('de peccato originis,') affirming that all men naturally sprung from Adam are born in sin, and that this primary disease ('morbus seu vitium') is sin, and so entails eternal death on all persons who are not regenerated by baptism and the Holy Spirit. On its negative side this article condemns the Pelagians and other misbelievers.²

The third article adopts the current language of the Creeds respecting the Incarnation of our Lord, His life, His death, His resurrection, His ascension, with their salutary fruits; subjoining (in the German copy) an emphatic condemnation of all heretics who have impugned these fundamental verities.

The fourth article proceeds to handle the doctrine of justification, declaring that men are not made acceptable in the sight of God by any works or merits of their own, but are justified gratuitously for the sake of Christ through faith ('propter Christum per fidem').

The fifth article, 'de ministerio ecclesiastico,' affirms that the Holy Ghost, who produces faith, is given us by the medium of the Word and Sacraments ('tanquam per instrumenta'). It condemns the Anabaptist innovators, who were circulating their distempered notions on this subject as on others.

The sixth article, 'de nova obedientia,' maintains that faith must ever issue in good works ('debeat bonos fructus parere'), while denying that we are entitled to allege them as the means of justification before God. It appeals, in proof of this statement, to the words of Holy Scripture, and ecclesiastical antiquity.

¹ Some of the 'neoterici' here condemned were Servetus and his party, whose opinions were then spreading in Germany. Francke, p. 13, note 7: *Hardwick's Reform.* pp. 262 sq.

² In the *Apologia Confessionis*, p. 57, ed. Francke, Melancthon specifies 'scholastici doctores.'

The seventh article, admitting that the Church is one, holy, and perpetual, defines it as a congregation of saints (*or*, of all the faithful), in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered: implying, that communities in which these two conditions are fulfilled belong to the true Church.

The eighth article explains that, notwithstanding the former definition, there are always in this life a multitude of hypocrites commingled with the faithful. It affirms, moreover, that the Word and Sacraments in virtue of the ordinance of Christ are efficacious, even when administered by evil men, and so condemns Donatism and all other systems¹ where this doctrine is or was impugned.

The ninth article, 'de Baptismo,' declares that this sacrament is necessary to salvation; that the grace of God is offered or communicated by it ('per baptismum offeratur'), and that children ought to be baptized, in order to be thereby introduced to the favour of God. It also denounces the original misconception of Anabaptism.

The tenth article, 'de Cœna Domini,' declares that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present ('vere adsint'²) and are distributed to the recipients. It also adds a censure of the Zwinglian³ who was teaching otherwise.

The eleventh article, 'de Confessione,' declares that private absolution ought to be retained, while it denies that the enumeration of all sins should be regarded as essential to the efficacy of the act.

The twelfth article, 'de Pœnitentia,' affirms that sin committed after Baptism is truly remissible, and defines penitence as consisting of contrition and faith together with the fruits of penitence, *viz.*, good works. It condemns the 'Anabaptists,' who asserted that persons once justified could never lose the Holy Spirit. It handles the Novatians

¹ The followers of Wycliffe were included; see *Apol. Confess.* p. 149: yet this censure was probably misapplied, if we may trust the Wycliffite treatise, edited by Mr. Forshall, with the title *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions*, p. 123. On the other hand, see *Apology for the Lollards*, ed. Todd. 'Introd.' pp. xxxi. xxxii.

² *Germ.* 'wahrhaftiglich unter Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sey.'

³ Francke, p. 16, n. 12.

with like severity, and repudiates the idea then prevalent among scholastics, who maintained that grace was merited by human satisfactions.

The thirteenth article, 'de usu sacramentorum,' teaches that sacraments are not mere badges ('notæ') of our Christian calling, but are rather signs and testimonies of God's will towards us, ordained for the purpose of exciting and confirming faith. It also denounces those who hold that sacraments justify 'ex opere operato,'¹ or, in other words, *mechanically*, and neglect to teach that faith in God's promise is a necessary precondition or concomitant.

The fourteenth article, 'de ordine ecclesiastico,' simply states that no one ought to preach or administer the sacraments who is not rightly called ('rite vocatus').

The fifteenth article, 'de ritibus ecclesiasticis,' affirms that festivals and other kindred institutions, though not essential to salvation, may justly be retained, so long as they are celebrated without sin, and are consistent with tranquillity and good order in the church. It protests, however, against the notion that any such traditions have inherent virtue so as to merit the grace of God, or make atonement for sins.

The sixteenth article, 'de rebus civilibus,' is meant to vindicate the high authority of the civil powers against the lax and revolutionary dreams of Anabaptism. It also vindicates the lawfulness of war, of property, of oaths, of marriage.

The seventeenth article, 'de Christi reditu ad iudicium,' re-affirms the ancient doctrine of the resurrection and final judgment, the eternal happiness of the holy, and the endless misery of wicked men and devils. It condemns the Anabaptists, who maintained that future punishment is

¹ This phrase is explained in *Apol. Confessionis*: 'quod sacramenta non ponenti obicem conferant gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis,' p. 203 (cf. the ninth English Article of 1538). The further explanations of Luther with respect to the bearing of this point on infant baptism may be seen at length in his *Catechismus Major*, Part. iv. s. 41 sqq. For a lucid definition of the phrase 'ex opere operato' as contrasted with the phrase 'ex opere operantis,' see Gabriel Biel, *Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. i. qu. 3.* In the former case, the 'exhibition' or application of the external sign suffices: 'non requiritur bonus motus interior in suscipiente.'

terminable, as well as those who were engaged in circulating 'Judaical opinions,' with respect to some reign of faithful men on earth before the resurrection.

The eighteenth article, 'de libero arbitro,' while it grants that the human will possesses a certain liberty of choice and action,¹ denies that man can work out spiritual obedience, or do things pleasing to God, without the grace of the Holy Spirit. It makes this doctrine rest upon the language of St. Augustine, and with him condemns Pelagians and all others who exaggerate our natural, unassisted faculties.

The nineteenth article, 'de causa peccati,' declares that the cause of sin is traceable to the will of all ungodly spirits, human and diabolic, which has turned itself away from God.

The twentieth article, 'de fide et bonis operibus,' is a diffusive answer to the popular objection that Lutheranism discouraged active piety, and prohibited good works.² It urges, chiefly on the authority of St. Paul, and sometimes in the very words of St. Augustine, that we are received into the favour of God solely for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, distinguished from any merits of our own; that we partake of this gratuitous justification by faith only ('tantum fide,' or 'fiducia'), and that, owing to the fact of reconciliation and indwelling of the Holy Spirit, we exhibit new affections and are fruitful in good works.

The twenty-first article, 'de cultu sanctorum,' while it recognizes the duty of imitating the good examples of the saints, affirms, as the distinctive doctrine of the Bible, that Christ is the one Mediator, Priest, and Intercessor, and on

¹ 'Ad efficiendam civilem justitiam (*Germ.* äusserlich ehrbar zu leben) et deligendam res rationi subjectas.'

² It begins by noticing a great improvement in the general language of the clergy: 'De quibus rebus olim parum docebant cononatores; tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant, ut certas ferias, certa jejunia, fraternitates, peregrinationes, cultus sanctorum, rosaria, monochatum et similia. *Hæc adversarii nostri admoniti nunc dediscunt, nec perinde prædicant hæc inutilia opera, ut olim. Præterea incipiunt fidei mentionem facere, de qua olim mirum erat silentium: docent nos non tantum operibus justificari, sed conjungunt fidem et opera, et dicunt, nos fide et operibus justificari. Quæ doctrina tolerabilior est priore, et plus afferre potest consolationis, quam vetus ipsorum doctrina.'*

that ground solemnly repudiates all invocations of the creature.

The twenty-second article closes the First Part of the Confession, by declaring that there is nothing in the doctrine of the Lutheran body which is fundamentally divergent either from the Scriptures, or the ancient Church. The prevalent dissension (it goes on to state) was due to certain practical abuses ('quibusdam abusibus') which had gradually crept into the Church, but were established by no competent authority. The object therefore of the German Reformers was to interpose and check the progress of those mighty evils, but no wish existed on their part to change the standard of doctrine, or even to abolish ancient rites and ceremonies if these latter could be purged from the abuses then adhering to them.

Many of the corruptions which excited the hostility of Luther and his friends have been enumerated in the Second Part of their Confession. As some elements of the former half had pre-existed in the 'Schwabach Articles,' this Second Part is based upon a series called the 'Torgau Articles,' which was similarly constructed by Lutheran divines, who met the Elector at Torgau early in the spring of 1530, in anticipation of the Augsburg diet.¹

The first article, 'de utraque specie,' is occupied in vindicating the right of laymen to communion in both kinds. This right is based upon the unequivocal language of Holy Scripture and the practice of the Early Church.

The second article, 'de conjugio sacerdotum,' relates to many scandals which arose from the compulsory non-marriage of the clergy. It asserts the honour of the married state, and quotes St. Cyprian as maintaining that even those who promise to live single are not absolutely fettered by such promise.

The third article is entitled 'de missa.' It begins by stating emphatically that 'the mass' had never been abolished by the Lutherans, but was celebrated by them with the greatest reverence,² only with some changes in

¹ See Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* III. i. p. 246, n. 4.

² 'Falso accusantur ecclesie nostræ, quod missam aboleant. Retinetur enim missa apud nos et summa reverentia celebratur.' John

the ceremonial, and with the addition of some German hymns for the instruction of the people. The 'private masses' were, however, discontinued on account of the profane and mercenary spirit in which they had been generally performed. The false 'opinion' was repelled which taught men to regard the mass as a mechanical rite effacing the iniquities of dead and living, 'ex opere operato;' and unwonted stress was laid upon the Eucharist in its character of a *communion*, in accordance with the spirit of the ancient Church.

The fourth article, 'de Confessione,' while denying the necessity of a particular enumeration of sins, declares that confession had not been abolished by the Lutherans, but was positively enjoined as a pre-requisite to their participation in the Eucharist. It further taught that absolution is a very great benefit ('maximum beneficium').

The fifth article, 'de discrimine ciborum et traditionibus,' affirms that an opinion had prevailed in all quarters respecting the efficacy of those human ordinances in making satisfaction for sin; and then proceeds to dwell on the disastrous consequences which resulted from the error. On the other hand, the Lutherans did not prohibit self-discipline and mortification of the flesh, retaining also such traditional usages as might conduce to the decorous performance of Divine service, but denying to them any meritorious value.

The sixth article, 'de votis monachorum,' maintains that in the time of St. Augustine religious associations were still purely voluntary, and that vows were only introduced as discipline became corrupt. It discounts the idea that the monastic is the highest form of Christian life; and, after vindicating the dignity of marriage, dwells upon the dangerous effects of confiding in recluse habits as the ground of an especial sanctity.

The seventh article, 'de potestate ecclesiastica,' distinguishes between the functions of the spiritual and secular

Sturmius, *Epist. ad Cardinales Delectos* (sign. E. 3, Argent. 1538), extends this remark to the mode of administering the sacrament of baptism: 'Credo enim et certo scio majorem apud nos et Eucharistiæ et Baptismo reverentiam adhiberi quam in illis locis ubi vestra adhuc consuetudo valet.'

authorities, respecting which disputes had long been agitated in all quarters. To the former, as the representatives of the apostles, it assigns the preaching of the Word, the power of the keys, and the administration of the sacraments; while the secular princes are to occupy themselves in protecting the persons and property of their subjects, and in illustrating the same ordinance of God under a different aspect. It ends by hinting that the Lutherans had no wish to wrest the spiritual jurisdiction from the hands of the lawful bishops, but that schism was likely to ensue if these persisted in demanding the obedience of the clergy with the same imperious rigour.

It is finally stated in the 'Epilogue,' subjoined to the Confession, that the points above enumerated are 'the principal articles which seemed to be the subjects of controversy;' that a longer list of practical abuses might have been drawn up, extending to the question of indulgences, of pilgrimages, and the like; but that, as the Lutherans had been placed on the defensive, they confined themselves to matters respecting which they felt constrained to speak distinctly, lest a handle should be left for the prevailing imputation, that they had embraced as portions of their system what was contrary to Holy Scripture or the Catholic Church.¹

This meagre abstract of the Augsburg Confession is enough to demonstrate that in presenting it to the imperial Diet the Reformers had been influenced by a strong desire to keep within the boundaries of the Latin Church, and to approximate as closely as possible to doctrines generally received.² Their moderation is peculiarly discernible in

¹ *Tantum ea recitata sunt, quæ videbantur necessaria dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit in doctrina ac cæremoniis apud nos nihil esse receptum contra scripturam aut ecclesiam catholicam, quia manifestum est, nos diligentissime cavisse, ne qua nova et impia dogmata in ecclesias nostras serperent.* p. 50.

² Ranke, *Reform.* III. 270, 271. 'They wished for nothing but peace and toleration; they thought they had proved that their doctrines had been unjustly condemned and denounced as heretical. Luther brought himself to entreat his old antagonist, the Archbishop of Mainz, who now seemed more peaceably disposed, to lay this to heart: Melancthon addressed himself in the name of the princes to the legate Campeggi, and conjured him not to depart from the

the silence they maintained respecting the encroachment of the papal power, as well as a long series of abuses in the penitential system which had stimulated their original protest. They were now indeed most anxious to assert and justify their own ecclesiastical position, to keep clear of the more violent reformers, whether Zwinglian or Anabaptist, and by following this conciliatory path to win from Charles V. and from the Romish section of the states at least a plenary toleration, till their grievances could be authoritatively redressed by the assembling of a general council.¹

Yet the gentle measures of Melancthon and his colleagues were unable to disarm the rage of their opponents. Some of the more violent among them advocated an immediate appeal to persecution, in obedience to the edict that was levelled at the Saxon friar in the Diet of Worms: but, nevertheless, the counsels of a party more pacific or forbearing were at last adopted by the emperor. On their suggestion, a committee of divines, who happened then to be at Augsburg, such as Eck, Wimpina, Faber, and Cochläus, was appointed to draw up a formal confutation of the articles which had been recently submitted to their notice. It was not, however, till the third of August² that the princes, who employed them, were induced to give a hearing to their spirited report.³ When read in

moderation which he thought he perceived in him, for that every fresh agitation might occasion an immeasurable confusion in the Church. p. 276.

¹ The following are the points which were at this time regarded as indispensable by Melancthon—sacrament in both kinds, marriage of priests, omission of the canon in the mass, concession of the secularised church-lands, and lastly, discussion on the other contested questions at a council. Ranke, p. 286. It is worthy of remark that Hermann, the archbishop of Cologne, was in like manner looking forward to a general council, and that he was acting in the mean time *provisionally*. 'Which thinges neuertheles we set furth to be receuyed and obserued of men committed to our charge, none otherwise than as a beginnunge of such holie and necessarie a thinge vntil a generall reformation of congregacions be made by the holie empire by a fre, and Christian council, vniuersall or nationall, etc.' Hermann's *Consultation*, sign. Rr. ii. Lond. 1547.

² The first draft appears to have been shown to the emperor on the 13th of July, after which it underwent extensive modifications.

³ Ranke, p. 283.

public, it excited the applause of all the enemies of Lutheranism.¹

This counter-manifesto is most interesting to the theological student, because it gives an ample opportunity of judging how far the representatives of the scholastic system, at a later period of the conflict, were disposed to hold or to recede from the extreme positions which had proved offensive to the first reformers. It is found that some articles of the Augsburg Confession are therein absolutely approved; that others are as absolutely rejected; while the remnant are in part accepted and in part condemned.

The articles which fall into the first division are those enunciating the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, the necessity of baptism and the efficacy of the sacraments (the sole objection being that the number 'seven' is not specified), the mission of the clergy, the authority of the magistrates, the final judgment, and the resurrection. We may also add, the article on the holy Eucharist, with the terms of which no fault is found, excepting that the Lutherans are required in explanation of it to accept the doctrine of concomitance,—in other words, to recognise the non-necessity of communion in both kinds.

With reference to those points where approbation was most positively withheld, it is important to observe how far the Romish theologians modified the language of their masters. They no longer taught that sacraments justify 'ex opere operato,' apart from the volition or the receptivity of the human subject, nor that works done without grace are of the same nature as those which are the fruits of the Holy Spirit. They were far more willing to repudiate all theories of human merit, and, while censuring the Lutheran formula of '*sola fides*,' they maintained that faith and good works are the free gifts of God, and absolutely nothing ('*nulla sunt et nihil*,') when compared with the rewards which He has mercifully attached to them. The Lutheran

¹ See it at length in Francke, Append. pp. 44—69. A more candid statement of objections taken by the Romish party to the Augsburg Confession is the *Consilium* of Cochlæus, presented to the king of the Romans, at his own request, June 17, 1540; in Le Plat, II. 657—670: cf. also the *Consultatio* of G. Cassander, A.D. 1564, *Ibid.* VI. 664 sqq.

definition 'de ecclesia,' was rejected as seeming to imply that sinners are in no way members of the Church. Those also bearing on the invocation of saints, the denial of the cup, and the compulsory celibacy of the priesthood, were assailed by references to Holy Scripture, to the usage of the Primitive Church, and to the statements of the Forged Decretals.¹ The propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the use of the Latin language, monastic vows, and other kindred topics, were all similarly re-affirmed and justified by the citation of authorities: and even where some hope was given that disciplinary abuses should hereafter be corrected, there is no abatement of those magisterial claims which had been long propounded by the Latin Church and recognised by many of its members.

Of the articles accepted in some measure only, one was that relating to original sin (exception being taken to the term 'concupiscence'): others were the Lutheran definitions of confession and of penitence; the first of which was censured as too lax; the second as underrating or denying the necessity of satisfaction.

It was obvious that the general feeling of the Diet, after listening to this Confutation, was more hostile than before to Luther and his party. Charles himself avowed a fierce determination to proceed as the hereditary champion of the holy Roman Church: and there is reason for believing that if he had not been alarmed by the unflinching attitude of the Elector of Saxony and rumours of a Turkish war, he would have finally abandoned all attempts at mediation. As it was, he now consented once again to the suggestions of the more moderate members of his party, and, on the 16th of August, a conference was opened with a view of framing some pacificatory scheme, and so of re-establishing the unity of the Germanic Churches. The reformers were, on this occasion, represented by Melancthon, Brentz, and Schnepf.²

'We are told that the dogmatical points at issue pre-

¹ Hardwick's *Middle Age*, pp. 134 sq. 4th edition.

² Luther himself was vehemently opposed to some of the concessions of his friends, and on the 20th of September he wrote with great earnestness forbidding them to proceed with the discussion. *Briefe*, ed. De Wette, iv. 171.

sented no insuperable difficulties. On the article of original sin, Eck gave way as soon as Melancthon proved to him that an expression objected to in his definition was, in fact, merely a popular explanation of an ancient scholastic one. Respecting the article on justification 'through faith alone,' Wimpina expressly declared that no work was meritorious if performed without grace; he required the union of love with faith, and only in so far he objected to the word 'alone.' In this sense, however, the protestants had no desire to retain it; they consented to its erasure; their meaning had always been merely that a reconciliation with God must be effected by inward devotion, not by outward acts. On the other hand, Eck declared that the satisfaction which the catholic Church required to be made by penitence was nothing else than reformation—an explanation which certainly left nothing further to be objected to the doctrine of the necessity of satisfaction. Even on the difficult point of the sacrifice of the mass, there was a great approximation. Eck explained the sacrifice as merely a sacramental sign, in remembrance of that which was offered on the Cross. The presence of Christ in the Eucharist was not debated. The protestants were easily persuaded to acknowledge not only a true, but also a real or corporal presence. It was certainly not the difference in the fundamental conceptions of the Christian dogma which perpetuated the contest. . . . The real cause of rupture lay in the constitution and practices of the Church.¹

The agent of this rupture was the papal legate Campeggi, who, though recognizing the approximation of the disputants in point of doctrine,² was, on other grounds, the most implacable of Luther's enemies. He argued that the ordinances of the Church, to some of which the Lutherans

¹ Ranke, III. 306, 307. The truth of this last statement has been illustrated by the whole history of the papacy. To recognize the absolute authority of the Roman pontiff was the only indispensable condition required of our own Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth (Twysden, *Vindication*, pp. 198 sqq. Camb. ed.); and it is still exacted with the same rigour from all who submit to the Roman communion. In the case also of the Russian 'Uniates,' we are told that 'nothing is required but the one capital point of submission to the pope.' Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russian Church*, p. 142, Engl. Transl. of. p. 390 (note).

² Gieseler, III. i. 260, n. 22.

ventured to object, were all dictated by the Holy Spirit; and the States, alarmed and irritated by his representations, finally decreed, that till the verdict of the long-expected council, the reformers should appoint no more married priests; that they should inculcate the absolute necessity of confession as practised in former years; that they should neither omit the canon of the mass, nor put a stop to private masses; and, especially, that they should hold communion in one kind to be as valid as in both.¹

It was this arbitrary edict of the Augsburg diet that extinguished the last hope of reconciliation, hitherto so warmly cherished by the moderate of both parties: for although another effort was eventually made, in 1541, under the auspices of Gaspar Contarini, whom the pope deputed as his legate to the colloquy of Ratisbon,² it also was completely thwarted, on the one hand by the arrogance and stiffness of the Roman court, and on the other by the stern uncompromising spirit of the more decided Lutherans.³

¹ Ranke, III. 310. The refusal of the Lutherans to comply with this edict, and the project of a Recess which was based upon it, suggested the composition of their second symbolical book, the *Apologia Confessionis*; in which the main points of their system are brought out more fully, and in a style less Mediæval.

² See the best account in Melancthon's *Works*, ed. Bretschneider, iv. 119 sq. The basis of the conference was an essay called the *Book of Concord or Interim of Ratisbon* (Ibid. pp. 190 sq.), so constructed as to evade as far as possible the most prominent points of difference.

³ The Pope, as usual, had required in the first place the acknowledgment of his own supremacy, but Contarini kept it back till other questions had been settled. Melancthon and Bucer advocated the cause of the Reformers. It is most remarkable that the whole assembly came to an agreement on the three important articles: of the state of man before the fall, original sin, and even justification. The friends of Contarini congratulated him on the success of his endeavours; and, among others, we find Cardinal Pole addressing him in these terms: 'When I observed this unanimity of opinion, I felt a delight such as no harmony of sounds could have inspired me with; not only because I see the approach of peace and concord, but because these articles are the foundation of the whole Christian faith. They appear, it is true, to treat of divers things, of faith, works, and justification; upon the latter, however,—justification—all the rest are grounded; and I wish you joy, and thank God that the divines of both parties have agreed upon that. We hope that He who hath

The approbation of the pontiff and of Luther was equally withheld from the conclusions of that mediating body; and a few years after, the council of Trent¹ was placing an insuperable bar against all kindred efforts, by its rigorous definition of the Romish tenets, and its absolute denunciation of the Lutheran movement.

begun so mercifully will complete His work.' Quoted from Pole's Letters, in Ranke, *Popes*, i. 164, 165, by Austin, 2nd ed. The proceedings at Ratisbon were, however, repudiated by Luther in violent language, and afterwards by some of the Cardinals, and the Pope. Bucer's remark on this occasion was too sadly verified in the result: 'Most reverend Sir,' he declared to Contarini, who was finally overruled by fresh instructions from Rome, 'the people are sinning on both sides; we, in defending some points too obstinately, and you in not correcting your many abuses.' Beccatelli, *Vit. Contarini*, apud *Quirini. Diatrib.* III. 110.

¹ In the history of the Council we have frequent proofs of the unreasoning prejudice which all suggestions in the way of Reformation had to encounter, merely because they seemed to justify the clamours of the Lutherans. Thus, when the report of the select Committee of Cardinals was discussed in a full consistory, the following sentiments of Cardinal Schomberg prevailed: 'Il ajouta que par-là l'on donneroit lieu aux Luthériens de se vanter d'avoir forcé le Pape à cette réforme; il insista beaucoup à faire voir que ce seroit un pas non seulement pour retrancher les abus, mais aussi pour abolir les bons usages, et pour exposer à un plus grand danger toutes les choses de la religion; parceque la réformation que l'on feroit, étant une espèce d'aveu que les Luthériens avoient eu raison de reprendre les abus auxquels il avoit fallu remédier, serviroit à fomentier tout le reste de leur doctrine.' Sarpi, *Hist. du Concile de Trent*, i. 151, ed. Courayer.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH ARTICLES OF 1536.

WE have seen already that the first grand triumph of the English Reformation was the orderly rejection of the papal supremacy, in 1534. In carrying out that measure the intelligent members of the Church had very generally acquiesced. But notwithstanding so much harmony of action in the outset of the movement, there existed little or no ground for hoping that its progress would conciliate an equal share of public approbation.

The Church of England, like all other provinces of western Christendom, was then agitated by a number of hostile parties, widely differing in the details of their system, but reducible under one of two popular descriptions, as the friends of the 'old' or of the 'new learning.'¹ One school symbolized most fully with Stephen Gardiner, who was promoted to the see of Winchester in 1531; the other, on excluding the more violent and distempered, found a champion in archbishop Cranmer, who was consecrated in the spring of 1533.

¹ See Archbishop Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 198, Oxf. 1838. In strictness of language, however, this distinction was untrue, and as such it was combated by some of the reforming party: 'Surely they that set asyde the blynde iudgemente of the affeccion, and loke earnestly vpon the matter, iudge otherwyse of vs: For the olde auncient fathers dyd neuer knowe or heare tell of the moost parte of those thynges whyche oure condempners do teache: than ye maye be sure that theyr learynge oughte not to be rekened for olde learynge and apostolicall. Farthermore not euery thyng that the olde fathers wrote sauonreth of the syncerenesse and purenesse of the sprete of the apostles. Certayn thynges whyche were deuised wythin these foure hundreth yeares, yee rather euen of late haue bene receaued by and by of them, as soone as they were made, namely thys is theyr learynge and so olde, that they desyre for thys, that the Gospell almost shoulde be cast awaye, and counted as a new teaching and learynge.' *A Comparison betwene the Olde learynge and the Newe*, translated out of Latyn unto Englysh by Wyliam Turner, 1538, sign. A. iii. Cf. Archbp. Cranmer's *Works*, i. 375, ed. Jenkyns.

In Gardiner we have a prelate of no ordinary powers; yet, like too many of his great contemporaries, he imagined that the work of reformation was well-nigh complete, when the encroachments of the foreign pontiff were successfully repelled. In that emancipation of the English Church¹ he acted a conspicuous part; but when he found that the established creed and ritual of his country were exposed to fierce assault, and not unfrequently to furious vituperation, he stood forward in the front of the reactionary (anti-reformation) party, and contested every inch of ground with equal courage and sagacity.

Cranmer, on the other hand, while ranking high above his rival in the area and solidity of his learning and his deep religious earnestness, became the centre of the moral and doctrinal reformers. He was gradually made conscious of the errors and abuses in this province of the Christian Church, and, as befitted his exalted name of 'primate of all England,' was determined to promote the work of purification and revival.

It is most unfair, however, to identify the principles of Cranmer and his party with those of the more sweeping 'Gospellers,'—still less with the positions of a host of turbulent spirits both at home and on the continent, who were assailing the more cardinal doctrines of the Bible, and erecting their eccentric institutions on the ruins of the papal monarchy. We have seen already that the views of Luther and the Wittenberg divines were quite incapable of sympathetic union with the bolder and less-balanced theories of Zwingli; and the same discrimination is still needed when we try to ascertain the attitude and tendencies of men who led the way to reformation in this country. We discover that the conflict of a Cranmer and a Gardiner was only one important aspect of a many-sided struggle, which the Church of England had been destined to encounter in that stormy crisis.

Very soon after the rejection of the papal supremacy, a multitude of misbelievers, known by the generic name

¹ See his *Oration De Vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's Preface, in Brown's *Fasciculus*, II. 800—820. Doubts have, however, been thrown upon the genuineness of the Preface, in Dr. Maitland's *Reformation Essays*, No. xvii., No. xviii.

of 'Anabaptists,' but departing from the Church on almost every fundamental doctrine,¹ had begun to propagate their creed in England as in other parts of Europe. As early as Oct. 1, 1538, a royal commission 'contra Anabaptistas,'² stigmatizes them as both pestiferous and heretical, and excites the primate and his comprovincials to devise immediate measures for their confutation or extermination. The injection of these foreign elements could hardly fail to quicken and exasperate the feuds already raging in the Church of England. Everywhere was clamour, bickering, and disquiet. 'Too many there be,' wrote the Homilist,³ 'which, upon the ale-benches or other places, delight to set forth certain questions, not so much pertaining to edification, as to vain-glory, and showing forth of their cunning; and so unsobberly to reason and dispute, that when neither part will give place to other, they fall to chiding and contention, and sometime from hot words to further inconvenience.' And examples of the taunts and nicknames bandied round from mouth to mouth are added⁴

¹ Ranke, for example (*Reform.* III. 588 seqq.), has an excellent chapter on the 'Unitarian' and other Anabaptists. Evidence will be adduced respecting their extreme heresies when we come to consider the main classes of misbelievers against whom the XLII. Articles were levelled.

² Wilkins, *Concil.* III. 836: cf. Mr. Froude's *Hist. of England*, III. 337 sq., where he gives a letter of warning from Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, calling upon Henry VIII. to interpose in favour of truth and social order.

³ *Sermon against Contention and Brawling*, p. 135, Camb. ed. The same kind of language is employed in a more nearly contemporary document, entitled 'The king's proclamation for uniformity in religion,' cir. A.D. 1536; Wilkins, III. 810.

⁴ *Ubi sup.* Another curious illustration of these disputes has been preserved in the last speech of Henry VIII., whose object was by pressure or persuasion to bring about external uniformity: 'Behold then what love and charitie is amongst you, when the one calleth another *heretike* and *Anabaptist*; and he calleth him againe *Papist*, *hypocrite*, and *pharisey*...I heare daily that you of the cleargie preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, envying one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiffe in their old *mumpsimus*, other be too busie and curious in their new *sumpsimus*. Thus all men, almost, be in variety and discord, and fewe or none preach truely and sincerely the Word of God according as they ought to do.' Stow's *Chron.* p. 590, Lond. 1631.

by the writer: 'He is a pharisee, he is a gospeller, he is of the new sort, he is of the old faith, he is a new-broached brother, he is a good catholic father, he is a papist, he is an heretic.'

The more minute consideration of this strife of tongues, which seemed to wax in virulence from day to day, has been reserved for an ulterior stage of our inquiry. It is only noticed here to illustrate the title of the earliest code of doctrine promulgated by the Church of England at the time of the Reformation. That document consists of '*Articles to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions.*'¹

The proximate causes of its compilation must be sought for in the history of the Church in 1536, and more particularly in proceedings of the southern Convocation, which assembled on the 9th of June. The lower house at once determined to draw up a representation of errors 'then publicly preached, printed and professed;' and on the 23rd of June, Richard Gwent, archdeacon of London and prolocutor, carried their *gravamina* into the upper house,² requesting that order might be taken to stop the further propagation of all such dangerous positions. In this report, they are divided into sixty-seven heads; and though Fuller, who transcribed them from the records of Convocation, is disposed to view them as 'the protestant religion in ore,' there is much justice in the criticism which Collier passed upon his language, *viz.*, that 'unless we had found a richer vein, it may very well be questioned, whether the mine had been worth the working.'³ Fuller indeed admits, that 'many vile and distempered expressions are found therein;' nor is it possible to read the list without arriving at a clear conviction that profaneness and dogmatic misbelief were calling for a 'special reformation' in this quarter also. The majority of the points adverted to are truly described by Carte, as 'erroneous opinions, which had been held by the Lollards formerly,

¹ These Articles will be found at large in Appendix, No. I., together with collations of the several forms in which they have been recorded.

² Wilkins, III. 804.

³ II. 121; ed. 1714.

or started now by the Anabaptists and others.'¹ At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that in more than one of the obnoxious propositions, we discern the rudiments of evangelic Christianity;² and in contemplating these both Cranmer and the more advanced of the reforming party may have felt a secret satisfaction. It is even probable that one of the concluding articles of the remonstrance had been levelled at the primate and his colleagues; for the lower house complain, that 'when heretofore divers books had been examined by persons appointed in the Convocation, and the said books found full of heresies and erroneous opinions, and so declared; the said books are not yet by *the bishops* expressly condemned, but suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned

¹ III. 137; ed. 1752. The following are a few of the objectionable tenets: 'Divers light and lewd persons be not ashamed or afraid to say, Why should I see the sacring of the high mass? Is it anything else but a piece of bread, or a litle pretty round Robin?'—'Priests have no more authority to minister sacraments than the laymen have.'—'All ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not clearly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away, because they are men's inventions.'—'A man hath no free will.'—'God never gave grace nor knowledge of Holy Scripture to any great estate of rich men, and they in no wise follow the same.'—'It is preached and taught that all things ought to be common.'—'It is idolatry to make any oblations.'—'It is as lawful at all times to confess to a layman as to a priest.'—'Bishops, ordinaries, and ecclesiastical judges have no authority to give any sentence of excommunication or censure, ne yet to absolve or loose any man from the same.'—'All sins, after the sinner be once converted, are made by the merits of Christ's passion venial sins, that is to say, sins clean forgiven.'—'The singing or saying of mass, mattens, or evensong, is but a roring, howling, whistling, murmuring, tomring, and juggling; and the playing at the organs a foolish vanity.'—'It is sufficient and enough to believe, though a man do no good work at all.'—'No human constitutions or laws do bind any Christian man but such as be in the Gospels, Paul's Epistles, or the New Testament; and that a man may break them without any offence at all.'

² e.g. 'They deny extreme unction to be a sacrament.'—'All those are antichrists that do deny the laymen the sacrament of the altar *sub utraque specie*.'—'Priests should have wives.'—'There is no mean place between heaven and hell wherein souls departed may be afflicted' (referring to the Mediaeval doctrine of purgatory, and not to the intermediate state of expectation, as now recognised by the English Church).

people, which ministreth to them matter of argument and much unquietness within this realm.'¹

While these and other kindred topics were exciting the displeasure of the lower house, the bishops in their turn appear to have been occupied with similar controversies. They were now divided into nearly equal parties, the one side advocating further changes, both in doctrine and discipline; the other rigorously adhering to a state of things which they had found predominant at the time of their consecration, with the sole exception of the papal monarchy. In the first division, we may reckon Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, Latimer,² bishop of Worcester, Fox, bishop of Hereford, Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, and Barlow, bishop of St. David's. The second consisted of Lee, archbishop of York, Stokesley, bishop of London, Tonstal, bishop of Durham, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Sherburne, bishop of Chichester, Kite, bishop of Carlisle, and Nix, bishop of Norwich.

It was during the first session of this synod, that Cromwell, who attended in his capacity of 'vicar-general of the realm,' delivered a significant address, assuring the assembled prelates of the deep concern exhibited by his royal master for the speedy termination of religious discord. 'The king studyeth day and nyght,' he says, 'to set a quietnesse in the Churche, and he cannot rest, vntil all such controuersies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole parliament. For although his speciall desire is to set a stay for the vnlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may belue, and he himselfe, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controuersies wel enough; yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and of his whole parliament.'³ He next admonished them in the

¹ Wilkins, III. 807.

² By Cranmer's appointment he had preached the Sermon at the opening of the Convocation (Latimer's *Sermons*, pp. 33 sqq. ed. P.S.), and had remonstrated in his out-spoken manner with the rest of his brother prelates for tolerating superfluous ceremonies and a variety of superstitions. He had also condemned the 'monster, purgatory,' and the impious sale of masses: pp. 50, 55.

³ See the speech at length in Fox, p. 1182; ed. 1583. Atterbury

name of Henry, 'to conclude all things by the Woord of God, without all brawling or scolding,' since he would not suffer 'the Scripture to be wrasted and defaced by any gloses, any papisticall lawes, or by any authority of doctours or counselles, and muche lesse will he admitte any article or doctrine not conteyned in the Scripture, but approued onley by continuance of time and olde custome, and by vnwritten verities.'

A disputation then arose, in which the bishop of London, Stokesley, was the principal speaker on one side, and Cranmer on the other. The characteristic speech of the archbishop, which has been preserved¹ with more or less of accuracy, commences with an exhortation to cease from debating about words, so long as agreement is obtained 'in the very substance and effect of the matter.' 'There be waighty controuersies,' he continues, 'nowe moued and put forth, not of ceremonies and light thinges, but of the true vnderstanding, and of the right difference of the lawe and of the gspell; of the maner and waye how sinnes be forgoen; of comforting doubtfull and wauering consciences; by what meanes they may be certified, that they please God, seeing they feele the strength of the lawe, accusing them of sinne; of the true vse of the sacramentes, whether the outward worke of them doth iustifie men, or whether we receaue our iustification by fayth. Item, which be the good workes, and the true seruice and honour which pleaseth God: and whether the choyce of meates, the difference of garmentes, the vowes of monkes and priestes, and other traditions which haue no worde of God to confirme them,—whether these (I say) be right good workes, and suche as make a perfect Christian man or no. Item, whether vayne seruice and false honouring of God, and mans traditions doe binde mens consciences or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such other (whiche cannot be proued to be institute of Christ, nor haue anye worde in them to certifie

(*Rights of Convocation*, p. 367, ed. 1700) contends that this meeting of the bishops took place in the year 1537: but Collier, Burnet, and others, refer it to the present year: cf. *Hardwick's Reform.* p. 182, n. 5.

¹ Fox, *Ibid.*

vs of remission of sinnes) ought to be called sacraments, and be compared with Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, or no ?'

Such statement of the questions more especially demanding the attention of the upper house, is an important illustration of the Articles, to which those questions led the way. If we may credit the account of Fox, the principal debate now turned upon the meaning of the word 'sacrament,' and on the number of those Christian rites to which it is legitimately assigned. One speaker Alane, or Alesius,¹ a canon of St. Andrew's and a refugee, whom Cromwell introduced to the assembly as a learned doctor, went so far as to argue that the term sacrament, though fairly capable of wider application, should in future be confined to those ordinances of the Gospel 'which haue the manifest Word of God, and be institute by Christ to signify vnto us the remission of our sinnes.'² He grounded this restricted use of 'sacrament,' on the authority of St. Augustine; but Fox, bishop of Hereford, who had lately been commissioned to negotiate with the foreign reformers, urged the Scotchman to uphold his argument by simple reference to Holy Scripture; declaring also that the Germans had made 'the text of the Bible so playne and easye by the Hebrue and Greeke tongue, that now many things may be better understand without any gloses at all, then by all the commentaries of the doctours.' The chief spokesman of the Mediæval party on this question, as on others, was the bishop of London, Stokesley, who 'endeauoured himselfe with all his labour and industry, out of the old schoole gloses, to maynteyne the seven sacraments of the Church.' He was not indeed unwilling to regard the Bible as the written Word of God, but still asserted that the Bible had itself commanded us to receive a number of oral traditions, which may fairly be

¹ His true name was Alexander *Alane*, but, on being driven from his own country (see *Hardwick's Reform.* p. 133, n. 1) he adopted the pseudonym *Alesius*. He seems at one time to have read 'a lecture of the Scripture' at Cambridge.

² Fox, p. 1183. It is worth observing that when the bishops were assembled on the following day, Cranmer sent a message to *Alane* 'commanding him to abstain from disputation.' *Ibid.* p. 1184.

denominated 'the Word of God unwritten,' and may claim no less authority than that conceded to the Holy Scriptures.

The destruction of the Convocation-records in the fire of 1666 prevents us from pursuing these debates through all their ramifications. It has also left us in complete uncertainty as to the way in which the spirited remonstrance of the lower house was handled by the prelates. Enough, however, is surviving to attest the sad disunion of the pastors of the Church as well as of the people, and to illustrate the urgent need of healing and pacific measures.

It is probable that the discussions in both houses were followed by a sort of compromise; for the 'Ten Articles' about Religion,' which grew out of the deliberation of that synod, bear indubitable traces of conflicting principles, and must have, therefore, been the fruit of mutual concession. They seem to have been brought into the Convocation-house by Cromwell,¹ and were probably drawn up by some committee appointed for the purpose; but the numerous variations and corrections existing in the several MS. copies of them leave no doubt that representatives of different schools of thought had been employed, if not in the construction, at least in the revision, of them.²

According to one of the present versions³ they are entitled 'Articles devised by the King's Highness,' etc., and are said to have been 'also approved by the consent and determination of the hole clergie of this realme:' while another copy⁴ describes them as 'Articles about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's authority.' The former of these titles has created a belief

¹ Herbert's *Hen. VIII.*, p. 466.

² An example of this is given by Dr. Jenkyns (*Cranmer's Works*, i. xv.) where Tonstal inserted a sanction of the practice of invoking saints, while Cranmer added a qualification that it must 'be done without any vain superstition.' Both clauses are retained in the printed copies.

³ See the edition of Thomas Berthelet (the king's printer), Lond. 1536, reprinted in the Appendix. This was also the title in Fox's copy, p. 1093.

⁴ In Burnet, *Addend.* to Vol. I. 459 sqq. from a MS. in the Cotton Library (Cleop. E. V. fol. 59).

that the original document was fashioned by the king himself, when he had witnessed the inextricable feuds in which the upper and lower houses were gradually entangled; nor is other testimony wanting which will give to such hypothesis an air of plausibility. In the royal 'Injunctions' issued during the same year (1536), it is stated that 'certain Articles were lately devised and put forthe by the King's highnesse authority, and *condescended upon* by the prelates and clergy of this his realme in Convocation.'¹ In like manner he declares in a letter written at the same juncture, that the growing discord of the realm constrained him 'to *put his own pen to the book*, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all the bishops and whole clergy of the realm in Convocation agreed on as catholic;'² and he proceeds to charge the bishops, whom he is addressing, openly in their cathedrals and elsewhere to read and declare what he entitles '*our said Articles*,' plainly and without additions of their own.

But though such passages appear to claim the authorship of the Articles absolutely for the king himself, it is most difficult to reconcile that supposition with what is stated in the royal Declaration prefixed to them in nearly all existing copies. Henry there states that being credibly advertised of the diversity of opinions which prevailed in all parts of England, he had 'not only in his own person at many times taken great pain, study, labours, and travels, but *also had caused the bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of the clergy to be assembled in Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same.*'

After weighing all this evidence together, the most natural inference is, that a rough draft of the Articles was made by a committee,³ consisting of the moderate divines

¹ Wilkins, III. 813.

² *Ibid.* 825. From this passage, without reference to any other, and with no attempt to weigh the evidence dispassionately, Mr. Froude (*Hist.* III. 67) assigns the whole merit of the document to his royal hero.

³ Strype (*Cranmer*, Lib. I. c. xi.; I. 83, ed. E. H. S.) conjectures that the Archbishop of Canterbury had 'a great share therein,' but gives no proof or reason. Archbishop Laurence has noticed a correspondence between the article on justification and the definition

of each party, and presided over by the king himself, or placed in frequent communication with him by means of the 'vicar-general.' After various modifications had been introduced to meet the wishes of discordant members, and the censorship of the royal pen had been completed,¹ the draft was probably submitted to the upper house of Convocation, and perhaps was made to undergo some further criticism at the hands of the remaining prelates who had not assisted in the compilation. There is also ample reason for concluding that the edition printed by Berthelet, in 1536, contains the most authentic record of the Articles: partly on account of the correction, in that copy, of errors which are found in the Cotton Manuscript, and partly from the subsequent incorporation of the Articles as there printed with the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' which was made public in the following year.³

A further discrepancy of importance has been noticed in the different copies of the Articles, apart from certain minor points, to be exhibited hereafter. Of the two lists of subscriptions as preserved by Collier, one is considerably shorter than the other. The first was derived from a Manuscript in the State-Paper Office, from which also he has printed the copy of the Articles³ contained in his 'History of the Church.' It may have been intended as a record for the single province of Canterbury, since we find in it the signatures of those members only who belonged to the southern jurisdiction. The second and much longer list of assentients is transmitted in the Cotton Manuscript⁴

contained in Melancthon's *Loci Theologici* (Bampton Lectures, p. 201, Oxf. 1838), which, together with the Lutheran tendency of some of the other Articles, would point to the influence of Cranmer and the reforming party. Professor Blunt, relying on evidence adduced by the same writer, believes that Melancthon had a voice in the drawing up of this document. *Reform.* p. 186, Lond. 1843.

¹ Burnet, III. 237, states that he had seen copies of some portions of it, with alterations by the king's own hand; and Dr. Jenkyns adds (*Cranmer*, I. xv.) that MSS. corresponding to Burnet's description are still extant among the Theological Tracts in the Chapter-House at Westminster.

² *Formularies of Faith*, p. vii. Oxf. 1825.

³ Probably one of the earliest drafts, as we may argue from its incompleteness, and the absence of the royal Declaration. *Ibid.*

⁴ A fac-simile of the signatures is prefixed to Vol. I. of Dodd's *Church History*, ed. Tierney.

alluded to above; and as that list includes the names of *both* the Archbishops, we are almost entitled to conjecture that in the final sanctioning of the manifesto, the convocations of Canterbury and York had learned for once to act in concert,¹ as a kind of national synod.

We may now pass forward from this sketch of the external history of the Articles, to a consideration of their purport and contents.

As seen by us, from the position we now occupy, those Articles belong to a transition-period. They embody the ideas of men who were emerging gradually into a different sphere of thought, who could not for the present contemplate the truth they were recovering, either in its harmonies or contrasts, and who consequently did not shrink from acquiescing in accommodations and concessions, which to riper understandings might have seemed like the betrayal of a sacred trust. It is ungenerous to suppose with Fox, that both the king and the reforming members of the council had deliberately consented to adulterate the Gospel, through false tenderness for 'weakelings, which were newly weyned from their mother's milke of Rome;' and yet we must allow, on a minute comparison of the fruits of the discussion with the principles avowed in different stages of its progress, that the leading speakers on both sides were often willing to recast or modify their system. They were treading upon ground of which but few of them as yet had any certain knowledge, and we need not, therefore, wonder if the best among them sometimes stumbled, or completely lost his way.

A singular example of this want of firmness or consistency is traceable in the conduct of the honest Latimer. Although a sermon which he preached at the assembling of the Convocation is distinguished by a resolute assault on the received doctrine of purgatory,² he was ultimately induced to sign a statement of the Articles in which men are enjoined to 'pray for the souls of the departed in masses and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, *whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their*

¹ Lathbury, *Hist. of Convocation*, p. 125, 2nd ed.

² See above, p. 36, note (2).

*pain.*¹ In the same way, bishop Fox, according to his namesake, was disinclined to lay stress upon the testimonies of 'doctors and scholemen, forsomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all poyntes;'—a sentiment, in which he was but echoing the stronger speech of Cromwell. Nevertheless the names of both are found appended to the document, wherein it is absolutely enjoined that all bishops and preachers shall construe the words of Holy Writ according to the Catholic Creeds, and 'as the holy approved doctors of the Church do entreat and defend the same.'²

If these and other like examples all betray the not unnatural oscillation of men's minds, while contemplating the disputed questions of the Reformation-period, they evince still more completely both the magnitude and depth of the disturbing forces which then operated in all quarters. And the Articles of 1536 are a reflection and expression of the same internal struggles.

The first of them declares that 'the fundamentals of religion are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and *also* in the three Creeds or Symbols: whereof one was made by the Apostles, and is the common creed which every man useth; the second was made by the holy council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicumque vult.*' It adds that whosoever shall 'obstinately affirm the contrary, he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and His espouse the Church, but be very infidels and heretics and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.' It also recognises the authority of 'the four holy councils, that is to say, the council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedonense,' and repudiates the heresies condemned in all those synods.

This article was probably directed against the tenets of

¹ In Collier's copy, most probably an early draft, the language here italicized was much softer, but it still involved the doctrine against which bishop Latimer had protested. It is of course just possible that Latimer was contemplating only an *extreme* view of purgatory, like that repudiated at the end of the same Article.

² Art. I.

the 'Anabaptists,' many of whom denied (as we shall see hereafter) both the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of the Saviour's Incarnation.

The second article relates to the Sacrament of Baptism, and was still more obviously intended to repel the same class of misbelievers, as we gather from internal evidence. It declares that baptism was instituted by our Saviour 'as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life' (John iii.); that by it all, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, obtain 'remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God;' that infants and innocents ought to be baptized, because the promise of everlasting life pertains to them also; that dying in their infancy they 'shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not;' that they must be 'christened because they be born in original sin,' and this sin can only be remitted 'by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost;' that re-baptization is inadmissible; that the opinions of Anabaptists and Pelagians are 'detestable heresies;' that in 'men or children having the use of reason,' repentance and faith are needed in order to the efficacy of baptism.

The third article is entitled 'The Sacrament¹ of Penance.' By contrasting it with the propositions which were reprobated at the same time in the Lower House of Convocation, its bearing on the actual circumstances of the Church is far more clearly seen.² It begins by affirming that penance is a sacrament instituted by our Lord in

¹ Hall (*Chron.* fol. ccxxviii. ed. 1583) noticed in the new book of Articles, as one of the most prominent points, that it specially mentions only *three* sacraments. This has become a very general observation; and the re-introduction of Matrimony, Confirmation, Orders, and Extreme Unction, with the title of sacraments, into the *Institution of a Christian Man* in the following year, is deplored as a retrogressive step. But Dr. Jenkyns (*Cranmer's Works*, I. xv.) has called attention to a MS. fragment of the Articles of 1536, subscribed by Cranmer, and other members of the reforming party, in which the above sacred rites are actually denominated after the manner of the 'old learning,' though defined in such a way as to distinguish them entirely from the rest. This circumstance led Dr. Jenkyns to the conclusion that Stokesley, Gardiner, and others of the anti-reformation school, preferred to remain silent on the subject in 1536, rather than to adopt those restricted definitions.

² See §§ 26—31: Wilkins, III. 805, 806.

the New Testament as a thing absolutely necessary to salvation, in the case of sins committed after baptism. According to it, penance consists of contrition, confession, and amendment of life. The first of these parts is made up of a sorrowing acknowledgment of sin and of a deep confidence in God's 'mercy, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified and of the number of His elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' Respecting the second part of penance, it declares 'that confession to the minister of the Church is a very expedient and necessary mean,' and must in no wise be contemned, for that 'the words of absolution pronounced by the priest are spoken by authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.' As to the remaining part of penance,—amendment of life,—it consists in prayer, fasting; almsdeeds, restitution in will and deed, and all other good works of mercy and charity. These must be diligently performed in order to obtain everlasting life, and *also* to 'deserve remission or mitigation of pains and afflictions in this world;' for though 'Christ and His death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners' the eternal consequences of their sin, the temporal consequences are to be abated or rescinded by the efforts of the penitent himself.

The fourth article, entitled the 'Sacrament of the Altar,' had been similarly levelled at the 'mala dogmata' condemned in the lower house of Convocation. It declares, in emphatic language, that 'under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is substantially and really comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross for our redemption:' 'that the very selfsame body and blood of Christ, under the same form of bread and wine, is corporally, really, and in very substance, exhibited, distributed and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament;' and that as a consequence the holy

sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and only after careful self-examination.

The fifth article defines 'justification' as 'remission of our sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation unto the grace and favour of God, *that is to say*, our perfect renovation in Christ.' This question had been very warmly controverted, not only in the continental schools, but also in our country; and the definition here adopted was most probably a compromise between the advocates of what is called the 'Lutheran' tenet and the tenet stereotyped as 'Roman' by the Council of Trent. For the ensuing paragraph asserts that justification is attained by contrition and faith, joined with charity, 'not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily deserve to attain the said justification,' but are required by the Almighty as accompanying conditions. He commandeth also, that '*after we be justified* we must have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of His laws and commandments.'

The five articles immediately relating to points of faith are followed by five other articles 'concerning the laudable ceremonies of the Church;'¹—a designation which included many topics of the deepest practical moment. Like the former series of decisions, these are also traceable directly to the special circumstances of the times, and illustrated in a greater or less degree by the long list of '*mala dogmata*,' to which attention was before directed.

The first, 'Of Images,' allows the use of statues and pictures as the 'representers of virtue and good example, as kindlers and stirrers of men's minds,' specifying the images of 'Christ and our Lady;' but at the same time commands the clergy to reform their abuses, 'for else,' it adds, 'there might fortune idolatry to ensue; which God forbid.' It also enjoins the bishops and preachers to instruct their flocks more carefully with regard to censuring, kneeling and offering to images, 'that they in no wise do

¹ In the King's Injunctions (Wilkins, III. 813), after drawing a like distinction between the two divisions of these Articles, he charges all 'deacons, persones, vicars, and other curates,' to open and declare it in their sermons.

it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God and in His honour.'

The next is entitled 'Of honouring of Saints,' and while it sanctions a modified reverence of them, partly on the ground that 'they already do reign in glory with Christ,' and partly 'for their excellent virtues which He planted in them,' it is careful to guard against the supposition that the saints are worthy of the kind of honour which is due to God Himself.

The next Article, 'Of praying to Saints,' is favourable to the practice of invoking them, so long as they are viewed as intercessors, praying with us and for us unto God. It also adds a specimen of the kind of prayer then believed to be exempted from the charge of superstition. We are warned, however, that 'grace, remission of sin, and salvation,' can be obtained of God only 'by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is the only sufficient Mediator for our sins;' a further caution being added against supposing that 'any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same.'

The next article embarks upon the general question of 'Rites and Ceremonies,' vindicating many of those in use from the prevailing accusations on the ground that they are 'things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify;' yet adding as before, a sort of caveat or corrective, *viz.*, that 'none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.'

The last article, 'Of Purgatory,' commences by affirming that 'it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed,' resting the observance on the due order of charity, on the Book of Maccabees, on the plain statements of ancient doctors, and the usage of the Church from the beginning. It accordingly insists upon the duty of committing the departed to God's mercy in our prayers, and of causing others 'to pray for them in masses and exequies,' in order to facilitate their rescue from a state of present suffering. It adds, however, that we know but little either of their place or of the nature of their pains, and therefore

that we must refer particulars respecting them to God Himself, 'trusting that He accepteth our prayers for them.' In the mean time it denounces the most scandalous abuses 'which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced,'—specifying in the number 'pope's pardons,' and 'masses said at Scala Cœli.'

It is now impossible to ascertain by what majorities these articles were finally carried in the two houses of Convocation. In the longer series of subscriptions there are eighteen bishops (including Stokesley, but not Gardiner,) and forty abbots and priors; while the number of assentients in the lower house is fifty, all of them belonging to the province of Canterbury. They consist of four deans of cathedrals, twenty-five archdeacons,¹ three deans of collegiate churches, seventeen proctors for the parochial clergy, and one master of a college.² If the two provincial synods were actually combined on this occasion, as the signatures of Lee, archbishop of York, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, have been thought to indicate (at least with reference to the prelates) it would follow that the lower house of the northern Convocation must have either dissented in a body,³ or else (what is not easy to conceive under all the circumstances) the record of their acquiescence was distinct from that belonging to the southern province.

We may readily imagine that some members of Convocation would be slow in setting out on a long journey to London, especially when they foresaw that it would end in disputations, if it did not actually involve them in fresh oaths and protests which they could not cordially adopt. And there is reason to believe that in the northern province such reluctance did exist in a peculiar measure. The 'old learning' was there cherished with unreasoning fondness, so that few, as in the southern and midland counties,

¹ It is worthy of note that two of these were Italians, *vis.*, Polydore Vergil, archdeacon of Wells, and Peter Vannes, archdeacon of Worcester.

² Some members of the lower house subscribed in double capacities, which makes the official signatures more numerous. Atterbury, *Rights of English Convocation*, p. 149, ed. 1700.

³ The only exception seems to be the archdeacon of *Chester*. William Knight.

had abandoned their belief in the most central of the Romish dogmas—the papal supremacy. An ‘Opinion of the clergy of the north parts, in Convocation, upon Ten Articles sent to them,’ is printed both in Strype and Wilkins; and although it is not certain that the articles¹ adverted to were the identical document which forms the subject of the present chapter, answers then elicited from the northern clergy ‘in Convocation’ testify the deep repugnance of that district to the measures of their brethren in the south. This hatred, based on Mediæval theories and wounded superstition, was exasperated by the recent acts of the civil legislature, which had called upon the northern clergy to exhibit dispensations granted to them by the pope. No sooner therefore had the bishops given orders for circulating² the new ‘Articles about Religion,’ than the disaffected of all classes flew to arms in vindication of the ancient system. ‘This booke,’ as Hall observes,³ ‘had specially mentioned but three sacramentes, with the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I mean their ignoraunt priestes) were offended, and of that occasion depraved the Kinges doynges.’ In the sketches left by him and others

¹ They are dated 1536, and from their allusion to Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 16, respecting dispensations from the see of Rome, must have been written in the *summer* or *autumn*. They prove beyond a doubt that the northern convocation *was assembled* in this year (cf. Wake, *State of the Church*, p. 491); whatever be the true mode of solving questions adverted to above. Besides advocating the extreme view of the papal jurisdiction, they ‘think it convenient, that such clerks as be in prison, or fled out of the realm, for withstanding the king’s superiority in the Church, may be set at liberty and restored without danger.’ Wilkins, III. 812; Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. 247, 248, ed. 1721. From evidence lately brought to light by Mr. Froude (*Hist.* III. 173) we may gather that these anti-reformation Articles were drawn up (Nov. 27, 1536) by the insurgent clergy of Yorkshire, assembled in Convocation at Pontefract; just after archbishop Lee had been dragged out of the pulpit, where he was preaching against the rebels.

² They had been charged to do so on every holy-day by the king, (Wilkins, III. 825), and a mandate of the bishop of Lincoln (Longland) enjoins the beneficed clergymen to avoid all controversial topics, and to preach four times a year, ‘secundum Articulos, qui nuper per serenissimam regiam majestatem, ac totum hujus regni Angliæ clerum in convocacione sua sanciti fuere.’ *Ibid.* 829.

³ *Chronicle*, fol. ccxxviii. ed. 1583. For a graphic picture of the whole struggle, see Froude, *Hist.* III. 95 sq.

of the frightful insurrection which now blazed in every town and village to the north of the Trent, we see how strong and general was the feeling that the bishops would not rest until they had completely undermined the fundamental doctrines.¹

One of the last incidents connected with the publication of the Ten Articles grew out of this rebellion in the north. To do away with the suspicion of abetting heresy, to satisfy the formidable insurgents that the document in question had been duly sanctioned by the Church, and was accordingly no wanton innovation of the monarch or his council, printed copies of it were liberally dispersed by the commander of the royal forces, who had also with him the original work as signed and authorized in Convocation.²

But this early set of articles was virtually superseded in the course of the next year (1537), on the appearance of a second Formulary of Faith, entitled the 'Institution of a Christian Man.' On it, however, many of the Articles of 1536 had been substantially engrafted; and as the new work never gained the formal sanction³ either of Convocation or the Crown, those articles were *really* in force until supplanted by the 'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,' set forth as late as 1543.⁴

¹ Collier, II. 131.

² Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 84, ed. E. H. S.

³ Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, I. xviii. and the 'Letter' there referred to. The *Institution* was drawn up by a number of Commissioners (Collier most erroneously affirms *three* years before its circulation, II. 139); but never regularly submitted to Convocation; and although published by the king's printer, it was not, like the former book of Articles, provided with a preface by his Majesty, commanding it to be received by his subjects. Being thus destitute of the royal authority, it was called the *Bishops' Book*. It consists of an Exposition of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Paternoster, Ave-Maria, Justification, and Purgatory. The introduction to it is no more than a letter from the Commissioners to the king announcing its completion. This drew from him a very guarded answer (Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, I. 188) which, while assenting to the publication of the Bishops' Book, does not commit him to a full sanction of the contents.

⁴ This work (the *King's Book*) is on the whole a revised edition of the Bishops' Book, although (as Collier observes) 'it seems mostly to lose ground, and reform backwards' (II. 191: cf. Prof. Blunt's

form. pp. 190 sqq.) Unlike its predecessor, however, it was not drawn up by a committee of Divines, but actually *approved in invocation*, and enjoined by a royal mandate: Wilkins, III. 868; Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, I. xxxvii.; cf. I. 188, 189 (note). This account of the authority of the two 'Books' is the reverse of what has been commonly received; but it is well supported by Dr. Jenkyns, and seems to me the only hypothesis which is capable of explaining all the evidence on the subject. Respecting Burnet's strange mistake, see Abp. Laurence, *Bampt. Lect.* I. note (4).

CHAPTER IV.

THE XIII. ARTICLES:—CONFERENCES WITH THE LUTHERAN REFORMERS.

NOTHING was more natural in the earlier stage of Reformation than the strong anxiety evinced by many of the English to secure the good opinion of their fellow-workers in Germany. They all had felt the pressure of the papal yoke; they had lamented, each in his own province of the Christian Church, the rank and deadly weeds which had been mingled with the true religion; they had all embarked with equal earnestness of purpose on the same remedial project; and, despairing in the end of a 'true general council,' they had simultaneously arrived at the conclusion that it was the paramount duty of 'every prince to redress his own realm.'¹

The greatest obstacle in the way of friendly intercourse had been the quarrel which broke out in 1521 between Henry VIII. and Luther; but as neither of the combatants appeared unwilling to forget his early fulminations, the estrangement could no longer be regarded as incurable. A positive bond of union was moreover furnished by the partiality which Henry afterwards conceived for Luther's chief companion. As early as the spring of 1534, Melancthon was invited to come over and assist in the reforming of the English Church,—an invitation which appears to have been warmly supported by the King himself on many subsequent occasions.² Henry saw that while Melancthon and his colleagues were possessed by the idea of national

¹ Cf. the *Causes* why the Germans did not recognise the Council of Mantua (quoted above, pp. 11, 12), with the contemporary *Protestation* of the English on this subject, in Fox, p. 1085.

² Archbp. Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, Sermon. I. note (3): Sermon. II. note (3). In 1538, Henry wrote as follows to the Elector of Saxony; 'Pro his, quæ feliciter agi cœpta sunt, feliciter absolvendis concludendisque expectamus, ut Dominum Philippum Melancthonem, in cujus excellenti eruditione et sano judicio a bonis omnibus multa spes reposita est, doctosque alios et probos viros, primo quoque tempore, ad nos mittat.' Seckendorf, *Histor. Luther.* Lib. III. § 66;

independence, and contended also for the primitive faith, they felt no sympathy with the licentiousness and misbelief which sometimes followed in the track of reformation both at home and on the continent. The Saxons had, for instance, kept aloof entirely from the wild and rationalistic speculations of such men as Carlstadt; they had vigorously opposed the fermentation of political theories which resulted in the 'Peasants' War;' they had repudiated the whole swarm of sectaries who bore the name of 'Anabaptists.' Their main principles had thus been vindicated in the eyes of all candid critics; and therefore we are not surprised to witness the increasing confidence reposed in them by many of our cautious fellow-countrymen who had no dealings with the school of Zwingli and the other 'Swiss' reformers.

A perception of this common basis in religious matters, aided by strong reasons of diplomacy, suggested the commencement of negotiations with 'the princes of the Augsburg Confession,' as early as the year 1535. The first English envoy sent among them was Robert Barnes, the victim, only five years later, of his predilection for the new opinions. He was followed to Germany in the autumn of 1535 by Bishop Fox and Dr. Heath,¹ who found the Lutheran States in anxious consultation respecting the religious and political alliance entered into at Schmalkald in 1534. The message of the English monarch, as delivered by the delegates (Dec. 24), was gratefully acknowledged by the members of the 'Schmalkaldic League,' who signified their readiness to take him into their confederacy on his acceding to the usual conditions. Of these the most important was that he should publicly adopt, or should at least approve in general terms,² the true doctrine of Christ,

add. 1: Francof. 1692: cf. Ratzberger's *Handschr. Geschichte über Luther*, etc., ed. Neudecker (Jena, 1850), pp. 79, 80. Melancthon was finally appointed divinity professor at Cambridge (May, 1553), but owing to the death of Edward never came into residence.

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 225—228. They had an interview with Pontanus and Burckhardt, Dec. 15: Melancthon. *Opp.* i. 108, ed. Bretschneider.

² The English were required to conform to the Confession and Apology, 'nisi forte quædam . . . ex verbo Dei merito corrigenda aut mutanda videbuntur.' Ranke, III. 661: cf. Strype, *ubi sup.* Append. No. LXIV.

as laid down in the Confession of Augsburg, and hereafter join them in defending it, under the title of 'Patron and Protector of the League.'

This project, full of most momentous bearings, seems to have been frustrated almost entirely through the arts of bishop Gardiner,¹ then acting as ambassador at the court of France. He represented that the King would be so entangled by this treaty in the affairs of the German nation as to be unable without their consent 'to do what the Word of God shall permit;' that as Henry was 'head of the Church of England,' by the authority of Scripture, so the emperor was 'head' of the Germanic Churches; and that consequently princes who were subject to his jurisdiction ought not to combine for public objects without his consent. By these and other arguments, applied with his peculiar tact, the bishop of Winchester succeeded in restraining the alacrity of his master, and eventually defeated the intentions of the League. At present, it is true, the language of the English monarch, though less cordial than his first communication, opens out some distant prospect of success. He does not absolutely decline the honour proffered to him by the German princes, but postpones the acceptance of it, until 'agreement shall be had betwixt him and their Orators,' respecting the particular terms of a religious union. 'For it should not be sure nor honourable for his Majesty, before they shall be with his Grace agreed upon a certain *concord of doctrine*, to take such a province upon his Highness. And forasmuch as his Majesty desireth much that his bishops and learned men might agree with theirs; but seeing that it cannot be, *unless certain things in their Confession and Apology should by their familiar conferences be mitigate*; his Grace therefore would their Orators, and some excellent learned men with them, should be sent hither, to confer, talk, and common upon the same.'²

But while Henry was thus faltering on the subject of communion with the German League, a conference had been opened on the spot between the English delegates and a committee of Lutheran theologians. Luther was himself a party to it from the first, and Melancthon came soon

¹ Strype, *Ibid.* 226, and Append. No. LXV.

² Strype, *Ibid.* Append. No. LXVI. p. 163.

afterwards¹ (Jan. 15, 1536). The place of meeting was at Wittenberg, in the house of Pontanus (Brück), the senior chancellor of Saxony, where Fox dilated on the Lutheran tendencies of England, and more especially of his royal master.

An account has been preserved in Seckendorf² of certain Articles of Religion, which were drawn up by the mediating party in the winter of 1535. Of these one article has reference to the Lord's Supper, and is merely an expanded version of the Augsburg definition; a second absolutely denies that 'any primacy or monarchy of the Roman bishop doth now obtain, or ever hath obtained, by Divine right.' The Germans had moreover insisted very strongly on the abolition of all private masses, and the relaxation of the law for enforcing clerical celibacy; but on these, as well as on some other points pertaining to the ritual and organisation of the Church, the English were not authorised to give the same degree of satisfaction.

In the following year (1536) the conferences, at least in their religious bearing, went on still more slowly;³ for the Wittenberg divines were losing confidence in Fox, and saw good reason for suspecting the motives of his master, who appeared to them more anxious to secure political advantages, or their assent to the propriety of his divorce, than to facilitate the progress of true religion or the purification of the Western Church.⁴

It seems, however, that in 1538 the apprehensions of a continental war, combining with the earlier causes, had

¹ See his communication to Burckhardt; *Opp.* III. 26.

² *Comment. de Lutheran.* Lib. III. § XXXIX.: 'Extat elaborata a Wittenbergensibus, acceptata etiam et domum reportata a legatis Anglicis, repetitio et exegesis quædam Augustanæ Confessionis,' p. III, Francof. 1692. These Articles are said to exist both in Latin and German: Melancthon, *Opp.* III. 104, note (2). An expression in a letter dated Nov. 28, 1536, implies that either the *same Articles revised*, or a fresh compilation, were again recommended by the English to the notice of their Saxon friends, III. 192.

³ On the 9th of March the divines were engaged in purely doctrinal discussions (*Ibid.* III. 45); and on the 30th, after much hesitation, they had agreed 'de plerisque.' On the 24th of April the English ambassadors departed.

⁴ Strype, *Ibid.* 229, 230.

induced him to reopen his negotiation with the Germans, and to press for his admission to the League with a redoubled earnestness. The 'princes of the Augsburg Confession' had assembled early in the year at Brunswick, whither he despatched a confidential messenger, with some preliminary questions. He spoke 'of his Christian zeale and propension of mind towards the Word of God, and of his desire to plant the sound doctrine of Christian religion in his kingdoms, and wholly to take away and abolish the impious ceremonies of the bishop of Rome.'¹ But as the Germans still persisted in demanding that all who entered the confederacy should recognise the truth of their Confession, Henry begged them to fulfil their former promise, and send over a legation of divines (including his peculiar favourite Melancthon),² to confer on the disputed points with a committee of English theologians. In this overture the Lutheran princes readily acquiesced, except as it concerned Melancthon, who was more than ever needed in his own country to assist in the deliberations of the State and give instructions to the University of Wittenberg. The persons actually chosen for this mission were Francis Burckhardt, vice-chancellor to the elector of Saxony; George Boyneburg,³ a nobleman of Hesse, and doctor of laws; and Frederic Mekum or Myconius, 'superintendent' (quasi-bishop) of the Church at Gotha. Burckhardt was the head of the legation and bore with him a commendatory letter to King Henry, dated May 12, 1538.⁴ The English monarch is therein implored to fix his eyes upon the imminent perils of the Church, and aid in framing measures which may tend at once to the establishing of firm consent among the friends of Reformation, and also to dissuade some other European princes from participating in the papal cause.

As soon as this Lutheran embassy arrived, a small committee, consisting of three bishops⁵ and four doctors,

¹ Strype, *Ibid.* i. 329.

² Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 494.

³ On this person, see Rommels, *Phillip der Grossmüthige*, i. 26.

⁴ Strype, *Ibid.* App. No. xciv.

⁵ Cranmer and Tonsal were of the number, and represented different schools. Herbert, p. 495.

was nominated by the King, to act as organs of the Church of England. The whole course of the discussion was apparently determined by the plan and order of the Augsburg Confession; and we learn that points of faith had been alone sufficient to engage the interest of the disputants for nearly two months.¹ Although it is not easy to trace out the several steps of this important conference, there is reason for supposing that the delegates arrived at an agreement on the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and proceeded 'to put their articles in writing.'² Strype asserts that queries of the King were all submitted in the first instance to the 'Orators' (for so the German envoys were commonly entitled), and that after the replies had been returned they were examined by the English committee.³ Be this, however, as it may, the fact of their ultimate accord, respecting the more central points of Christian faith, is stated in a letter addressed by Myconius to Cromwell,⁴ a short time before his departure (Sept. 7, 1538).

Still their labours in the second province of investigation did not lead to such an amicable issue; Henry was inexorable in his demands, and when the Germans took their leave of him he clung to many of the errors and abuses against which they had been contending from the first with unabated sternness. These 'abuses' were—the prohibition of both kinds in the administration of the Lord's Supper, the custom of private propitiatory masses, and the absolute injunction of clerical celibacy.⁵ Cranmer had long striven but in vain to interest the English section

¹ See the *Brevis Summa* of the Germans, in Strype, App. No. xcvi., where they also inform us that 'they could not stay for the rest of the disputation concerning abuses;' p. 261. This account tallies with a letter of Cranmer (No. ccxxx.; i. 261, ed. Jenkyns), dated Aug. 18, in which he states that the 'Orators of Germany' durst not tarry, 'forasmuch as they have been so long from their princes,' and were fully determined to depart within eight days from that time. However, they were finally induced to remain a month longer.

² Cranmer's *Letters*, ubi sup. and p. 264.

³ *Eccles. Memor.* i. 330: cf. *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. pp. 612 613.

⁴ In Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* i. Append. No. xcv.

⁵ See the 'Judgment concerning Abuses,' composed by the German envoys on this occasion. *Ibid.* No. xcvi.

of the conference in this part of the discussion; for in a letter to Cromwell (Aug. 23) he remarks that when the Orators of Germany were anxious to proceed 'in their book, and entreat of *the abuses*, so that the same might be set forth in writing *as the other articles are*,' he had 'effectiously moved the bishops thereto,' but they made him this answer: 'That they knew that the King's Grace hath taken upon himself to answer the said Orators *in that behalf*, and therefore a book is already devised by the King's majesty; and therefore they will not meddle with the abuses, lest they should write therein contrary to that the King shall write.' 'Wherefore,' he continues, 'they have required me to entreat now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; wherein they know certainly that the Germans will not agree with us, except it be in matrimony only. So that I perceive that the bishops seek only an occasion to break the concord.'¹

The 'book' alluded to by Cranmer in this passage was actually drawn by Henry, with the aid of bishop Tonsal,² one of the committee who was still devoted to the 'old learning.' It indicates, what the archbishop had on other grounds good reason for suspecting, that the anti-reformation party had of late been gaining fresh ascendancy at court,³ and that, however much the King was willing on some points to acquiesce in Lutheran definitions, there was little or no hope of weaning him from other vices in the doctrine and administration of the Church. It is most true that, on the eve of their departure, he invited the envoys to return to England, for the purpose of considering afresh those points in which the conference was divided; and in the letter which Melancthon wrote to him,⁴ March 26, 1539, an expectation is indulged, that as he had begun to take away 'wicked superstitions,' he would abolish such as still remained: but in the meanwhile Henry's feelings had been more and more estranged from every class of continental reformers; and when

¹ *Works*, i. 263, 264; ed. Jenkyns.

² In Burnet, i. Add. Nos. 7, 8.

³ Prof. Blunt's *Reform.* p. 189, note (5).

⁴ In Strype, i. Appen. No. ci.

Burckhardt and his friends renewed their visit to this country in the spring of the following year,¹ the power of Gardiner was found sufficient not only to defeat all fresh negotiations with them,² but to carry in the southern Convocation and in Parliament the 'Act for the Abolishing of Diversity of Opinions,' or, as it is not unfrequently entitled, the 'Bloody Statute of the Six Articles.'³

Our present object does not make it necessary for us to investigate the origin of those Six Articles, or to expatiate on the persecutions which for several months at least accompanied their enactment. An inquiry more congenial to our purpose is suggested by the mission of the Wittenberg reformers. We have seen that traces are surviving of a partial disagreement between them and the committee of English theologians; yet we also know that union was effected to a very great extent, and that a number of Articles were actually compiled as the result of their deliberations on the leading points of Christianity. A manifesto embodying this agreement is of special interest to all students of the Reformation both in England and in Germany; and at length it has been, for the first time, placed within their reach by the researches of a living writer. In looking for remains of Archbishop Cranmer, Dr. Jenkyns discovered among a bundle of papers

¹ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. 341.

² In a document drawn up on this occasion (Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. 341; Collier, II. 171), it is remarkable how far the Lutherans were disposed to make concessions in favour of the 'older learning;' cf. Luther's *Schriften*, xvii. 342—345: ed. 1745.

³ This 'whip with six stringes,' as Hall terms it—though Dr. Maitland (*Reform. Essays*, No. xii.) represents it as comparatively inoperative—enforces a belief in the following articles: (1) of transubstantiation, or the entire physical change of the elements in the eucharist, (2) the non-necessity of communion in both kinds, (3) the sinfulness of marriage after receiving the order of priesthood, (4) the absolute obligation of the vows of chastity or widowhood, (5) the propriety and necessity of 'private masses,' (6) the expediency and continual obligation of auricular confession. (Stat. 31^o Hen. VIII. c. 14). All these dogmas, excepting, perhaps, the first, refer to recent negotiations with the Germans, and on that account are strongly censured by Melancthon, in a letter addressed by him to the English monarch, Sept. 22, 1539. Fox, pp. 1172 sqq.; cf. Melancthon, *Opp.* III. 783, 784.

belonging to that prelate, a thin folio manuscript, entitled, '*A Boke conteyning divers Articles de Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum, de Peccato Originali,*' etc. He informs us, that the other documents tied up in the same bundle relate chiefly to negociations with the Lutheran envoys in the year 1538; and believes that the 'Articles' were those agreed upon at the conference held in London at that time. 'The 'boke' itself is manifestly founded on the Confession of Augsburg, often following it very closely, and departing from it exactly in those instances where the mixture of English and German theology might have been expected to cause a variation. It is also in Latin, and this circumstance adds to the probability of its having been composed in concert with foreigners; for such other Formularies of this reign as were designed for domestic use are in English. And, lastly, the only Article, namely, that on the Lord's Supper, which there is an opportunity of comparing with the conclusions approved by Fox and Heath in Germany, is word for word the same.'¹ This argument is further strengthened by the circumstance that the manuscript Articles do not embrace any of those topics on which the English and German delegates had failed to arrive at a perfect understanding; while three other separate papers,² also in Latin, of the same general form, and of nearly the same length, refer to points which were then actually disputed, and are probably the drafts of articles not accepted by the Lutheran divines.

But other reasons may be urged for drawing the attention of the reader to the Thirteen Articles of 1538. They will not only indicate the disposition of our leading reformers to acquiesce in the dogmatic statements which had been put forward in the Augsburg Confession, but have also a prospective bearing of still more importance, as,

¹ Cranmer's *Works*, i. xxii. xxiii.

² *Ibid.* iv. 292 sqq. This bundle was re-examined for the benefit of the present work. It was found to contain, among other valuable pieces, the exposition of the 'Sacrament of Confirmation,' contained in the *Institution of a Christian Man* (which is said to have been 'agreed upon *communis consensu*'): and also 'Certain Articles admitted in Germany,' endorsed by Sir Ralph Sadleyr, who became Secretary of State in 1540. The latter document seems to be an abstract of one alluded to above, p. 59, n. 2.

in many ways, the ground-work of Articles now in use. No one can deny that the compilers of the Forty-two Articles in the reign of Edward VI. drew largely from the Lutheran formulary of 1530; but the recent discovery of the Thirteen Articles has made it probable that such derivation, instead of being (as was hitherto supposed) *direct*, took place entirely through the medium of the Anglo-German channel. This conclusion is supported by the fact, 'that the expressions in Edward VI.'s Formulary, usually adduced to prove its connection with the Confession of Augsburg, are also found in the Book of Articles; while it contains *others*, which can be traced as far as the Book of Articles, but which will be sought for in vain in the Confession of Augsburg.' From what is known of their general character, the framers of the Edwardine Articles would be 'anxious, in the execution of their undertaking, to meet, if possible, the views of their brethren on the continent, as well as of their countrymen at home; and they could scarcely pursue a surer method of attaining their object than by borrowing from a form of doctrine already approved by both.'¹

The Articles thus serving as a species of connecting-link between the Formularies of the two countries are distributed under the following heads: (1) De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum; (2) De Peccato Originali; (3) De duabus Christi naturis; (4) De Justificatione; (5) De Ecclesia; (6) De Baptismo; (7) De Eucharistia; (8) De Pœnitentia; (9) De Sacramentorum usu; (10) De Ministris Ecclesiæ; (11) De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis; (12) De Rebus Civilibus; (13) De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio extremo.

An opportunity of comparing this new series with the Augsburg Confession on the one hand, and the subsequent English Articles on the other, is provided in a separate Appendix² to the present volume; but a cursory perusal of them is sufficient to convince the reader, with how much fidelity they have adhered, in their arrangement and their substance also, to the elder of those Formularies, and at

¹ *Ibid.* i. xxiv.

² See App. No. II.

the same time how distinctly they anticipate materials made available in the composition of the later.

The first of the XIII. Articles, though bearing a different title, is almost a verbal copy of Art. I. of the Augsburg Confession, and includes the first of the XLII. Articles.

The second corresponds with Art. II. of the Augsburg, but, like the eighth of the XLII. Articles, it speaks of '*peccatum originale*' instead of '*peccatum originis*,' and contains the expression '*originalis justitia*,' which is not in the Augsburg series.

The third is identical with Art. III. of the Augsburg, and includes the second of the XLII. Articles.

The fourth is a much longer statement on the subject of justification than Art. IV. of the Augsburg; yet both affirm that men are accepted by God '*gratis propter Christum per fidem*.' The English definition is, however, different in some measure from the German, including, like the Articles of 1536, the thought of '*true renovation in Christ*' as equivalent to '*remission of sins*.' This Article also embodies a portion of Arts. V. and VI. of the Augsburg, but has no expressions in common with the corresponding Articles of 1553.

The fifth is a considerable departure from Art. VII. of the Augsburg, though manifestly copying some expressions from thence, as also from Art. VIII. It views the Church under two aspects, either as completely holy and as the mystical body of Christ, or as the congregation of those who have been baptized and not excommunicated. This latter it describes as the Catholic and Apostolic Church composed of all national and particular Churches, exactly in the Spirit of the '*Institution of a Christian Man*.' No trace exists in it of the twentieth Article of 1553 (the *nineteenth* of our present series); but, what is remarkable, it includes the thirty-third and the twenty-seventh of the Edwardine code, employing language in both cases which is *not* found in the Augsburg Confession.

The sixth, on the subject of Baptism, is much fuller than Art. IX. of the Augsburg series, though stating precisely the same doctrine. It seems to have much in common with the Articles of 1536, and, so far as language

is concerned, has no affinity whatever with the twenty-eighth of the Edwardine Articles.

The seventh is also an expansion of Art. X. of the Augsburg series, and agrees verbatim with the statement on the Eucharist adopted in Germany during the Conferences of 1535. It has no terms in common with the twenty-ninth of the XLII. Articles.

The eighth is a diffuse and for the most part an original essay on 'Penitence.' It may however be compared with Arts. XI. and XII. of the Augsburg.

The ninth, respecting the efficacy of the sacraments, has much in common with Art. XIII. of the Augsburg series, but far more with the twenty-sixth of the XLII. Articles, where the language is almost identical.¹

The tenth, though bearing a different title, is based upon Art. XIV. of the Augsburg series, and agrees still further with the twenty-fourth of the XLII. Articles.

The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, are long dissertations, in the main agreeing with Arts. XV. XVI. and XVII. of the Augsburg; but, if we except a few general sentiments, they have no parallels whatever in the later English Articles.

It is worthy of a passing notice, that rough drafts of different parts of the above document exist in our public repositories; some exhibiting corrections in the handwriting of archbishop Cranmer, and one in the handwriting of the King himself. Until the recent discovery of the copy containing the XIII. Articles in their collected form, it had been usual to assign those drafts to labours of a select committee appointed in April, 1540, to prepare a 'Declaration of the principal Articles of the Christian belief.'² Henry had been now considerably propitiated by the burning of unhappy 'Gospellers,' who dared to speak

¹ A fuller example of this adoption of much older theology may be remarked in the Homilies for the Passion and the Resurrection, which had appeared almost verbatim in Taverner's *Postils*, as early as 1540.

² Archbp. Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, Sermon i. note (5). The names of the Commissioners are given in Strype (*Mem. of Cranmer*, i. 173), who describes them as 'generally learned and moderate men.' Gardiner was not of the number.

against the 'Six Articles.' He had even manifested a fresh desire to mediate between the two rival schools, denouncing the 'rashness and licentiousness of some, and the superstition and stiffness of others:'¹ yet there is no satisfactory evidence to show that the commissioners ever undertook a compilation such as that above described. The patient Strype, who has collected six of the Articles,² and who assigns them to this new committee, confesses, notwithstanding, that many of the accompanying papers were 'drawn up by the divines for the King's use' in the discussions with the German envoys.³ And it may be doubted whether the same statement does not equally apply to all the definitions of Christian doctrine which he has preserved in his 'Appendix;' for besides the fact that they are drawn in Latin, which might favour this conjecture, the indubitable records of the commission organised in 1540 refer almost entirely to 'Questions and Answers concerning the sacraments, and the appointment and power of bishops and priests.'⁴ Fox, indeed, intimates that 'a Book of Articles' was then completed in accordance with the views of Cranmer, but no perfect Formulary answering his description is now extant; and if such a work existed, it appears to have been speedily abandoned or suppressed, before obtaining either royal or ecclesiastical sanction. A corroboration of this view, which is suggested partly by the absence of the document itself, and partly by the lack of other historical testimony, may be also gathered from the Injunctions of bishop Bonner in 1542,⁵ who directed his clergy to procure and study 'The Institution of a Christian Man;' which he could hardly have dared to do in this public manner had there been a later work invested with supreme authority. It is however a *possible* supposi-

¹ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. 356.

² 'De ecclesia,' 'de justificatione,' 'de eucharistia,' 'de baptismo,' 'de poenitentia,' 'de sacramentorum usu:' *Eccl. Mem.* i. App. No. cxii., where they are printed with notes of the King in the margin. They present considerable variations in language, but accord in doctrine (so far as they go) with the XIII. Articles.

³ *Mem. of Cranmer*, i. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.* App. Nos. xxvi.*, xxvii., xxviii., xxviii.*; cf. *Cranmer's Works*, ed. Jenkyns, i. xxiii. (note), xxix. sqq.

⁵ Quoted by Dr. Jenkyns, *ubi supra*.

tion, and by no means inconsistent with the view here advocated, that the Articles of 1538 were partially revived two years later by means of this commission. The operation of the 'bloody statute' was suspended in 1540, as we know from various sources, among others from a further correspondence, which took place in the spring of that year, between Henry VIII. and the Germanic princes. At the request of Henry a fresh series of well-digested arguments was forwarded to him by certain of the Lutheran theologians;¹ but no traces of the correspondence have been found after April 12, 1540. The same construction was, perhaps, implied in the spring of 1543, when the repressive Act² 'for the advancement of true religion' led the way to the compiling of the last public Formulary in the reign of Henry VIII.³

¹ Melancthon, *Opp.* III. 1005—1016.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 34° and 35° Henry VIII. c. 1. Among other things it orders that recourse must be had to the Catholic and Apostolic Church for the decision of controversies, and abolishes 'all books comprising any matter of Christian Doctrine, *Articles of the Faith*, or Holy Scripture [i.e., in vernacular translations], contrary to the doctrine set forth sithence A.D. 1540, or to be set forth by the King.'

³ *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. In spite, however, of the traces of reaction which are visible at the close of Henry's reign, it is remarkable that attempts were set on foot by Convocation in 1541 and 1542 for revising the Mediaeval Service-Books (*Wilkins*, III. 861—868; IV. 15, 16), and that *Homilies* (such as *Taverner's Postils*, ed. Cardwell) were actually submitted to that body: cf. *Lathbury, Hist. of Conv.* p. 180, n. 4; pp. 147, 148. 2nd ed.

CHAPTER V.

THE XLII ARTICLES OF 1553.

THE death of Henry, which took place in 1547, like that of Luther in the previous year, excited a most lively joy among the members of the counter-reformation party then assembled at Trent.¹ Their triumph was, however, premature, and in so far as it related to ourselves was utterly illusive; for the reign of Edward VI. was destined to extend the breach already opened by his predecessor, and established the whole structure of the English Reformation on a deeper and more permanent basis. The reactionary school, with Gardiner its chieftain, was discredited and rapidly displaced; it had no chance of counterworking the determined spirits who stood first in royal favour; and if aught like apprehension mingled with the joy of sober and devout reformers, it was prompted by misgivings lest the boyish flexibility of the monarch should be used by an ill-regulated zeal or by political partisanship for propelling the more sanguine of his subjects into rash and revolutionary changes.

Of the men who were raised up to guide their country through the perils of that stormy crisis, and who finally succeeded in rebuilding for us what has proved itself a sanctuary not only from the malice of the Romanist, but also from a flood of Puritanical innovations, none was so illustrious and untiring as the Primate of all England. After granting that the life of Cranmer was disfigured here and there by human blemishes; after granting that the caution and timidity of his nature had degenerated, on some rare occasions, into weakness and irresolution; he is still, if we regard him fairly as a whole, among the brightest worthies of his age: to him we are indebted, under God, for much of the sobriety of tone that marks the

¹ Sarpi, i. 257, 467; ed. Courayer.

English Reformation, or in other words, for the accordance of our present system with the Apostolic models.

For this reason it becomes important to inquire into the leading principles of Cranmer in the years immediately after the accession of king Edward; since, although we ought not to identify the teaching of the Church with that of individual writers, the opinions of a man like Cranmer must have always exercised a mighty influence on the public formularies of the age. An answer to our question has been partly furnished by the fact, that in the first year of the new reign (1548) he had 'set forth' an English Catechism, of a distinctly *Lutheran* stamp,¹ indeed originally composed in German and translated into Latin, by Justus Jonas the elder, one of Luther's bosom-friends. With the exception of one single tenet, on the nature and manner of the Presence in the holy Eucharist,² the views of Cranmer afterwards underwent no variation with respect to any of the agitated questions of that day. His predilections were again most clearly manifested in the framing of the First Service-Book of Edward VI., which came into use on Whitsun-day, 1549; for, like the kindred compilations of the Saxon reformers,³ our own Prayer-

¹ Laurence, *Bampton Lect.* 16, 17 (note): see Hardwick's *Reform.* p. 194, and n. 1. In a copy of this catechism (Camb. Univ. Lib.) the following entry is made on the title-page: 'This Catechisme is but a meer translation of a Catechisme set forth *Vitebergæ* ex officina Petri Seitz. an. 1539.'

² This change seems to have commenced in 1548 (Hardwick's *Reform.* pp. 197, 207 sq.). It is often attributed to the influence of John Laski or à Lasco, whose opinion at the very same period is said to be ascertainable from the following passage: 'Mysterium porro omnium summum in cœna esse puto, communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi: in hoc vero nullum usque dissidium video. Omnes enim ingenuè fatemur, nos in cœna vero Christi corpori et sanguini vera etiam communicare, quicumque Verbo Illius credimus. Quod jam attinet, quo modo id fiat,' etc. Letters of à Lasco, quoted in Dr. Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, i. lxxx. This, however, it should be remembered, though approximating to the *Calvinistic* (later Swiss) view, is very different from the *Zwinglian* (early Swiss) view. The whole subject has been discussed elsewhere (Hardwick's *Reform.* pp. 153 sq.).

³ In Luther's own life-time the Services in use were all avowedly nothing more than simplifications and corrections of corresponding Latin services: see Richter's *Evangel. Kirchenordnungen*, Vol. I.,

Book is substantially derived from old or Mediæval Liturgies,—the Daily Service from the *Sarum Portiforium*, and the Office for the Holy Communion from the *Sarum Missal*.

The conservative temper, everywhere displayed in the adoption of these measures, is still more discernible on contrasting the English Prayer-Book as originally arranged by Cranmer and his colleagues, with the earliest forms of worship substituted for the Mediæval services by Zwingli and the German-speaking Swiss; or with the less denuded system subsequently introduced by Calvin at Geneva. Of the latter even it has been remarked, with equal justice and severity, that Calvin 'chose rather to become an author than a compiler, preferring the task of composing a new Liturgy to that of reforming an old one.'¹ And the Second Prayer-Book of king Edward, though considerably modified, and maimed (as some have thought) in more than one particular, evinced no disposition to withdraw from the traditional ground on which its predecessor had been planted. The great bulk of the materials out of which it was constructed are the heirloom of far-distant ages; so that, while it practically bears witness to the continuity of Church-life, it illustrates the guiding spirit of the English reformers.

Deference to the general teaching of the past is also traceable on every page of the first book of Homilies (1547), and more especially perhaps in those portions which are known to have proceeded from the pen of archbishop Cranmer; while even his polemical Treatises on the vexed question of the Eucharist, in which, if ever, he has been occasionally betrayed into the use of language varying from the primitive standards, all abound with fresh professions of adherence to the doctors of the Early Church. 'Lest any man,' he writes, 'should think that I feign anything of mine own head, without any other ground or authority, you shall hear, by God's grace, as well the

Weimar, 1846, and Daniel's *Codez Liturg. Eccl. Lutheranae*, Lips. 1848. See also *The Consultation of Hermann*, Archbp. of Cologne, drawn up by Melancthon with the aid of Bucer, published in 1543, and translated into English in 1547 (more correctly, 1548).

¹ Laurence, *Bampton Lect.* 1. note (6).

errors of the papists confuted, as the Catholic truth defended, both by God's sacred Word, and also by the most old approved authors and martyrs of Christ's Church.' And again: 'This is the true Catholic faith, which the Scripture teacheth and the universal Church of Christ hath ever believed from the beginning, until within these four or five hundred years past, that the bishop of Rome, with the assistance of his papists, hath set up a new faith and belief of their own devising.'¹ Or, to take another extract from his memorable appeal, in 1556, when he was standing on the very brink of death: 'Touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand, anything contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the holy Catholic Church of Christ; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the Sacred Scripture and of the holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning; and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.'²

Carrying with us, therefore, these important indications of the *kind* of influence which presided over the construction of our later Formularies of Faith, we pass to the particular inquiry opened in the present chapter.

It has seemed surprising to most writers that so long an interval was suffered to elapse from the death of king Henry VIII. in 1547, to the publication of the XLII. Articles in 1553; because a consequence had been that the 'Necessary Doctrine of a Christian Man' continued to be one of the accredited standards of belief, so far as it was not repressed or overruled by the more recent teaching of the Homilies, the Ordinal, and the Prayer-Book. Now, whatever else may have contributed to this delay, one cause must be unquestionably sought in a scheme which Cranmer cherished at the time, with the idea of embracing all Reformed communions in one great society. The thought had been suggested as far back as 1539, in a letter of

¹ *Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*, published in 1550: *Works*, II. 313, 356, ed. Jenkyns. Cf. *Answer to Smythe's Preface*, III. 23: *Answer to Gardiner*, III. 41-43.

² IV. 126.

Melancthon to king Henry VIII. It was revived in 1542, and afterwards propounded more distinctly at the opening of the reign of Edward.¹

Captivated by a project, which, in days of controversy and religious isolation, was peculiarly attractive to a mind like his, archbishop Cranmer lost no time in his arrangements for attempting its immediate execution. In July 1548 we find some learned men arriving from the continent² upon this errand; and although Melancthon's slackness to participate in the new plan appears to have deferred and ultimately to have frustrated the business of the conference, the anxiety of Cranmer to secure the help of Saxon theologians is evinced by his repeated applications, one of which was sent to them as late as March 1552.³ Their slackness, and especially Melancthon's, may have been occasioned in some measure by political perplexities,⁴ and the domestic troubles of the Wittenberg reformers; but the failure of the scheme of comprehension they had been invited to consider is attributable to its own inherent difficulties. A congress of the kind now contemplated by the English primate was to be attended not by Lutherans only, nor by members of the 'mediating school' as represented by the piant Bucer, but also by the different shades of Swiss reformers,⁵ who were now beginning to exert some influence in England. The discussions must have therefore turned ere long upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, respecting which, as had been shown by recent efforts, there

¹ See Laurence, *Serm.* II. note (3): Cranmer's *Works*, ed. Jenkyns, I. 337, 338, note (r).

² 'Accersivimus igitur et te (writing to Laski) et alios quosdam doctos viros; qui cum non gravatim ad nos venerint, ita ut nullum fere ex iis præter te et Melancthonem desideremus,' etc. Cranmer's *Letters*, CCLXXII.: *Opp.* I. 330. The whole of this Letter is important.

³ Dr. Jenkyns' 'Pref.' cv., and Letters there referred to.

⁴ Todd's *Cranmer*, II. 226, ed. 1831.

⁵ See Cranmer's Letter to Melancthon (CCLXXXV.), where he adds 'Scripsi ad D. Calvinum et ad D. Bullingerum, eosque hortatus sum, ne operi tam necessario, adeoque utili reipublicæ Christianæ deesse vellent.' In writing to Calvin he asks, 'Adversarii nostri habent nuno Tridenti sua concilia, ut errores stabiliant, et nos piam synodum congregare negligemus, ut errores refutare, dogmata repurgare et propagare possimus?' Letter CCLXXXIV.

was little or no hope of harmony between the Saxon and the Swiss divines.¹ Indeed, a letter written by John Leski (July 19, 1548), before his own arrival in England, represents the calming of the 'sacramentary contention,'² as the *principal* object of the meeting; and though Cranmer (March 24, 1552) was himself desirous of extending the discussion to a great variety of controverted topics,—to 'all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and not only to the things themselves, but also to the forms of speech,'—he could not fail to hear, amid dissensions on the 'sacrament of unity,' a most emphatic reason for the course he had pursued.³

We have no means of ascertaining the precise time at which this theory was abandoned; but it is indisputable⁴ that some such project was still cherished both by Cranmer and his friends long after they began to fashion a domestic Formulary. A sketch of the new document, which constitutes, as we have reason to believe, the basis of our present ARTICLES, appears to have been made as early as the autumn of 1549, if not, indeed, still earlier.⁵

¹ In Switzerland the French-speaking reformers under Calvin and the German-speaking reformers under Bullinger *did* effect a union on this subject, as on others, in the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549); but the old feud between the Saxons and the Swiss continued almost as implacable as ever to the end of the century.

² 'Contentio sacramentaria cepit illic exagitari per quosdam, estque instituta ea de re publica disputatio, ad quam magnis multarum precibus vocor. Bucerus expectatur. Franciscus noster Dryander jam adest. Et de Calvino mussatur, nisi quod Gallus est.' *Ibid.* i. 330, note (a). Bucer had arrived with Paul Fagius in May, 1549. Their influence over the Archbishop was looked forward to with apprehension by Burcher (who regarded them as Lutherans, and therefore dangerous men): 'I wish they may not pervert him, or make him worse.' *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. 652. For another specimen of this jealousy, see *Ibid.* p. 61.

³ Letter cclxxxiv. *passim*.
⁴ The last letter of invitation is the one above mentioned, bearing date, March 20, 1552, and in a subsequent communication of Calvin the project is spoken of as relinquished. Cranmer's *Works*, i. 347: Laurence, *Serm.* ii. note (4). Calvin himself revived it early in the reign of Elizabeth (Styrie's *Parker*, i. 69, ed. 1711), but died immediately after it was submitted to the royal Council.

⁵ This is just possible; for Fox, as we have seen (above, p. 64) implies that something of the kind was prepared in the last years of Henry VIII.: cf. p. 65, n. 2.

In a letter from Micronius to Bullinger, dated 'London, May 28, 1550,' we discover that some kind of Articles had been already offered as a test to Hooper;¹ and the following extract from one of Hooper's own epistles,² bearing date 'Feb. 27, 1549,' enables us to carry back the origin of such Articles into the previous year: 'The archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some *Articles of Religion* to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a license for teaching is not granted them.' This statement is repeated³ 'Feb. 5, 1550,' and with no expression of distrust or disapproval; yet on Hooper's nomination to the see of Gloucester (May 15, 1550), he objected strongly, as will be hereafter noticed more at length, to three important members of the series.

¶ The existence of a code of Articles, so early in the reign of Edward, was unknown until the publication of the letters just referred to. Strype, and others following in his track, assigned the preparation of such a document to the summer of 1551; the king and privy council having then directed 'the archbishop to frame a book of Articles of Religion, for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this Church, that being finished they might be set forth by public authority.'⁴ If this statement be correct, the series which the primate had been using as a test of doctrine, for at least two years, was either an early draft of the great Formulary afterwards issued as the XLII. Articles, or else was a distinct production of his own, as well as circulated on his own authority. The former supposition is more probable, on various grounds, especially when we bear in mind that Cranmer is himself declared to be the principal framer⁵ of both documents.

¹ *Orig. Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 563.

² *Ibid.* p. 71.

³ *Ibid.* p. 76.

⁴ *Cranmer*, Lib. II. c. 27 (Vol. II. 366, ed. E. H. S.).

⁵ With regard to the authorship of the XLII. Articles, it is plain that Cranmer had a principal share in them, both from the wording of the royal instructions and his own admission at his trial. Fox,

But be this as it may, we are entirely justified in stating that the work which grew at last into the Articles of Religion, was transferred by Cranmer, long before its final publication, to the other English prelates. It remained with them until the spring of the following year (1552), when a communication from the privy council, bearing date May 2nd, called on the Archbishop to send the Articles that 'were delivered the last year (1551) to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority, according to the minutes.'¹ They were now forwarded to the council in obedience to this order, but soon afterwards appear to have returned to the Archbishop, in whose hands they remained until Sept. 19. He next digested them more carefully, and after adding titles and some supplementary clauses, sent a copy of them to Sir Wm. Cecil and Sir John Cheke,² the great lay 'patrons of the Reformation at the court,' desiring their opinion and revision. The document was finally submitted to the king himself, with a request that measures might be taken to secure for it authority, entitling prelates to enforce it as a test on all the clergy of both provinces.

Delays, however, still continued to intervene; for on the 2nd (or 21st) of the following October a letter was addressed to six royal chaplains, Harley, Bill, Horne, Grindal, Perne, and Knox, directing them to 'consider certayne Articles exhibited to the Kinges Ma^{ty}, to be subscribed by all suche as shal be admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realme and to make report of theyr opinions touching the same.'³ At this particular

indeed, represents him as avowing on this last occasion that the work was absolutely one of his doings; but the official report of his language is slightly different: 'Quoad Catechismum et *Articulos* in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem ejusdem.' *Lambeth MS.* quoted by Todd, II. 286.

¹ Strype, *ubi sup.*

² 'I have sent the book of Articles for Religion unto Mr. Cheke, set in a better order than it was, and the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked.' Cranmer to Cecil, Sept. 19, 1552: Strype's *Cranmer*, II. App. No. LXVI.

³ *MS. Council Register*, 'Edw. VI.' Vol. III. p. 624. Todd, *Cranmer*, II. 288, drew attention to a version of the Articles in Latin, subscribed by the six chaplains. This MS., containing 46 Articles, is

stage the Articles, though not in substance very different from the final issue, were forty-five in number, and entitled '*Articles concerning an Uniformite in Relligion.*' Having passed this further scrutiny, the work was remitted (Nov. 20) to the archbishop at one of his country-houses, for the 'last corrections of his judgment and his pen;' and on the 24th of the same month he sent it to the council, accompanied by the following observations: 'I have sent unto the same [your good lordships] the Book of Articles, which yesterday I received from your lordships. I have sent also a schedule inclosed, declaring briefly my mind upon the said book; beseeching your lordships to be means unto the King's majesty, that all the bishops may have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles. And then I trust that such a concord and quietness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as else it is not to be looked for many years.'¹

How far the fresh procrastination of the court was due to the assembling of Convocation in the following March, or how far it was connected with the scruples felt in certain quarters on the use of anti-Zwinglian phraseology in speaking of the Sacraments, we may determine more conveniently hereafter. It is now important to observe that, in compliance with Cranmer's wish, a mandate (June 19, 1553) was issued, in the name of the King, to the officials of the province of Canterbury, requiring them to see that the new Formulary was publicly subscribed;² and in the few remaining days of Edward's reign, the order was obeyed, to some extent at least, in two or three dioceses of the realm.³

among the State-Papers, 'Domestic,' Edward VI. Vol. xv. (see Mr. Lemon's *Calendar of State Papers*, 'Domestic,' 1547-1580, p. 46), and is printed at length in the present volume: see Appendix, No. III.

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, II. App. No. LXIV.

² See the mandate in Wilkins, IV. 79. It extended also to school-masters, and apparently to members of the university on admission to degrees. Todd, II. 293.

³ On the 22nd of June (not the 2nd, as in Strype), the clergy of Canterbury were cited for this purpose, but it is uncertain how many of them actually subscribed. According to Burnet, the Articles were

There can be no doubt, however, that a fortnight or three weeks before this date, the Articles had been in general circulation; as we learn, among other sources, from the following title: '*Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the synod at London, in the year of our Lord God 1552 [=1553], for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion.*' Published by the King's Majesty's commandment, in the month of May, 1553. Rich. Graf-tonus, typographus regius excudebat. Lond. mense Junii, 1553.' This work, it should be noted here, was printed *separately*,¹ and in English; but another edition of 1553, which issued from the press of Raynold Wolfe, exhibits the Articles in Latin, appended to a distinct treatise, with the title '*Catechismus Brevis Christianæ Disciplinæ.*'² These two productions, similarly connected, but in English, were published in the same year, 'by the King's Majesty's authority;' and the royal Injunction prefixed to the Catechism is dated May 20, 1553.³ In both cases the Articles are said to have been 'agreed on by the bishops and other learned and godly men in the last Convocation' (in ultima synodo), A.D. 1552 [=1553], but in describing

not circulated widely on account of the death of Edward, which followed very soon after (July 6): III. 365-367. When examined by Queen Mary's commissioners, Cranmer declared that he only 'exhorted such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.' Fox, p. 1877. The bishops were permitted to suspend all compulsory measures for a period of *six weeks*. Todd, II. 296.

¹ An important consideration, proving (as Dr. Cardwell remarks) that the Articles were not treated as a mere appendage to the Catechism, with which they were often combined. *Synod.* I. 6.

² The author of the *Catechism* is unknown. It has been ascribed to Ridley, Ponet, and Nowell; but the reasons are strongest in favour of the second. See a Letter of Sir John Cheke, June 7, 1553, and the remarks upon it, in Cranmer's *Works*, ed. P. S. I. 422, note (2).

³ A very short interval must have elapsed between this order and the actual publication, for in a letter of Utenhovius to Bullinger, dated London, June 7, 1553, he remarks that '*Articles are now printed in the king's name, to which all persons must subscribe who are to be appointed to any office in the Church, as also those who are already appointed, under pain of deprivation.*' *Original Letters*, ed. F. S. p. 594.

their object the language somewhat varies¹ from that employed above, in Grafton's copy.

It has been remarked already, that the earliest draft of this important manifesto was made by archbishop Cranmer, and by him submitted to a series of revisions during eighteen months, and probably a longer period. With the sole exception of the form it had assumed when in the hands of the royal chaplains (Oct. 1552) we have no definite means of judging as to the degree of modification it was made to undergo in the course of this protracted criticism; and yet the letter of the King to Ridley, bearing date June 9, 1553, as well as that of the Archbishop to Cecil in the previous September, lead us to suppose that the amount of alteration had been considerable; for it describes the Articles, which were then publishing in their final form, as '*devised and gathered with great study, and by counsel and good advice of the greatest learned part of our bishops of this realm and sundry others of our clergy.*'² We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the work had been submitted to a searching criticism, and gradually amended by a number of auxiliary hands, before subscription to it was enforced upon the clergy by royal mandate.

Some of the uncertainty in which this question has been long enveloped is dispelled by records appertaining to the visitations of bishop Hooper in 1551 and 1552,³—the very time, as we have seen, in which the Articles were in process of formation, but not publicly enjoined by Convocation or the Crown. In one of his pastoral letters to the clergy of Gloucester, bearing date 1551, and signifying his intention to visit that diocese in the following summer, he informs them that, 'according to the talent and gift given him of the Lord, he had collected and gathered out of God's holy Word a few *Articles*, which he trusted would much profit and do them good.' In the course of the visitation he proceeded to require subscription

¹ '*For to roots out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of trow religion.*'

² Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. 421. According to Mr. Lemon's *Calendar*, as above, p. 51, there is a copy of this letter dated *May*, 1553.

³ Strype, *Cranmer*, Book II. ch. xviii., and '*Documents.*'

to these Articles, as we infer from his account in writing to Cecil, July 6, 1552.¹ That step, however, had been taken solely on his own responsibility; for in the letter he expresses a desire that some such document, more binding on the clergy, might be circulated from still higher quarters. 'For the love of God,' writes Hooper, 'cause the *Articles*, that the King's Majesty spake of when we took our oaths,² to be set forth *by his authority*.' In October, 1552, he arrived at Worcester in continuation of the same visit; but was there resisted by two Romanizing prebendaries, who declared themselves unwilling to accept a portion of the doctrines he propounded in *his* Articles of Religion. This resistance on their part resulted in a vehement disputation with the bishop, an account of which was instantly communicated by him to the royal council (Oct. 25, 1552); while Joliffe, one of the refractory prebendaries, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, gave the controversy to the world in a small volume published at Antwerp, in 1564. His work³ comprises some of the main arguments of the objectors, together with replies returned to them by Hooper, and a confutation of his answer from the pen of Gardiner, who had been thrown into the Tower; but more interesting still is the discovery that Joliffe has preserved an actual copy of the Articles, which formed the moving cause of the dispute.

We may at first sight be inclined to view those Articles as *totally distinct* from the great Formulary afterwards enjoined by Edward for subscription in the Church of England. Such indeed appears to be the inference of Strype;⁴ and the expressions used by Hooper, where he

¹ *Ibid.* App. No. xlviii. One of his 'interrogatories' on the same occasion was: 'how many priests in the deanery have subscribed unto the *Articles* that I put forth unto them?' *Eccl. Mem.* II. 355.

² *i. e.*, on his appointment to the bishopric of Worcester (which he held 'in commendam'), May 20, 1552.

³ See some account of it in Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* II. 354. The title of a copy in the Library of the University of Cambridge is as follows: *Responsio venerabilium sacerdotum Henrici Joliffi et Roberti Jonson, sub protestatione facta ad illos Articulos Ioannis Hooperi, episcopi Vigornia nomen gerentis in quibus a Catholica fide dissentiebat, etc.* Antv. 1564.

⁴ 'When he visited them he gave them articles concerning Christian

speaks of Articles 'gathered' by himself out of the Scriptures, all unquestionably point us to the same conclusion. Yet there is, upon the other hand, most satisfactory proof that those two documents were closely related to each other if they did not actually proceed from a common source; for out of the *nineteen* Articles animadverted on by the refractory prebendaries, *ten* are found to coincide precisely (some few instances of varying phraseology excepted) with the Latin Articles of 1553, although the order in which they stand is different throughout; while of the *nine* remaining Articles, *seven* as obviously agree in substance, though less fully stated than the parallel definitions of the latter Formulary. The only Articles of which no traces were preserved in those of 1553 are the first and eighteenth in Joliffe's publication; the former being levelled at prevailing errors on the subject of our Saviour's Incarnation, and the oneness of His great propitiatory sacrifice;¹ the latter, at the superstitious service of the mass as commonly celebrated in the age preceding the Reformation.

There are some expressions also in this correspondence which, although not easily reconcilable with Hooper's previous language, intimate that Articles tendered by him to the Worcester clergy had been either positively sanctioned by the King, or were at least in plain accordance with another Formulary which could claim the royal sanction, and which Hooper and his brethren had pre-

religion, to *the number of fifty*,' Cranmer, II. 220. A full account of the visitation was perused by Strype in a certain folio MS. of which a copy from Dr. Williams' Library has been obligingly furnished to the present writer, by the Editor of Bp. Hooper's *Remains* (since published by the Parker Society). The title there given describes the Articles as composed for 'the unity and agreement, as well for the doctrine of God's Word, as also for the conformity of the ceremonies agreeing with God's Word' (p. 120).

¹ 'Christi corpus non ex virili semine, nec ex ulla alia materia nisi tantum ex substantia Virginis Mariæ, opera Spiritus Sancti factum est, idque semel, et semel tantum, oblatum est.' Art. I. fol. 13. 'Missa quæ consuevit a sacerdotibus dici, superstitionis et abusus plena erat, et præter epistolas, evangelia et verba cœnæ, per pauca instituta per Christum habuit: sed a Romanis Pontificibus et ab aliis ejusdem notæ hominibus inventa et excogitata est.' Art. XVIII. fol. 188 b.

viously subscribed. Such passages¹ have prompted the idea that after *the* Articles were remitted by Cranmer to the privy council in May, 1552, the King had by some private act² encouraged all the well-affected prelates to urge that manifesto on the notice of the clergy, with a view to ascertain their willingness in the matter of subscription. Yet we must remember, on the contrary, that quite as early as the autumn of 1549, archbishop Cranmer had made use of such a series, and in 1551 allusion had been also made by Hooper to a series which he designated *his* Articles. If, therefore, we are justified in thinking that these documents were substantially the same,³ and cognate also with the test of doctrine offered to the prebendaries of Worcester in 1552, it follows that a draft of *the* Articles, afterwards published by supreme authority, was already in the hands of the reforming prelates, and enforced by them upon the clergy of their several dioceses.

Be this, however, as it may, there is not evidence enough to warrant the conclusion of Archbishop Laurence,

¹ Hooper (or, as some suspected, Harley or Jewel) began his confutation of Joliffe in the following terms: 'Quod serius quam pro vestra expectatione, ad ea quæ in *Articulos regios scriptis* responderim,' etc. fol. 6 b.; and again: 'Quid hic de regis majestate, qui *mihî author fuit*, ut hæc suis omnibus, tam qui in clero sunt, quam qui in promiscua multitudine proponerem, suspicamini, aliis divinandum relinquo. Me vero, meique loci et ordinis alios, qui *his jam pridem subscripsimus*, quo ingenio *aiptæus* nota liberetis non video, postquam hos articulos, quos verbo veritatis freti approbavimus, sacræ Scripturæ, analogiæ fidei, et ecclesiæ determinationi vestra censura adversantur.' Fol. 7 b. It is clear also from Joliffe's statement, that the royal authority was pleaded by those who enforced subscription (fol. 5); but Gardiner in his *Replication* (fol. 8 b) implies that no such authority had been brought to bear, except indirectly and *in terrorem*.

² Soames, *Reform*. III. 651.

³ The truth appears to be, that whatever was the precise complexion of Cranmer's Articles of 1549, the series in Hooper's *Visitation-Book* was nothing but a popular *English* form of the original draft of the XLII. Articles enlarged by ritual and other injunctions for the guidance of his clergy, and modified in different ways. Not a few of his extreme statements, which remind us of his sojourn in Switzerland, are *softened down* in the authorized Articles of 1553; as may be seen indeed at once, from the collations in Append. No. III.

that the number of the Articles, as originally compiled at Lambeth, did not exceed *nineteen*, or that the primate in the first instance had composed little or nothing more than a condemnation of 'Romish errors.'¹ It is obvious from an extant copy that the English series of bishop Hooper had amounted to no less than *fifty* Articles; and if *some* only of these last were openly refuted by the prebendaries of Worcester, the true reason might have been that the remainder were considered far less open to attack, or even such as the objectors had no scruple in subscribing.

And this inference is supported by the testimony of the work itself; for in the 'argument' prefixed by Joliffe, he admits that while some of 'the many Articles' were heretical and impious, others entitled to the name of 'catholic' had been artfully interspersed, in order that the simple and incautious might the more easily be led astray.* In such a case it is quite evident that we can hope to recover the Articles of 1553 from records of the Worcester disputation, so far only as those Articles had proved distasteful to the party who opposed the Reformation-movement; and accordingly, on noting down the subjects which were handled in the longer of these series, but omitted in the shorter, we shall find that they relate to questions where disciples of the 'old' and 'new learning' were generally agreed, and therefore were not likely to provoke discussion in the champions of the 'Romish' tenets. For example, it has been remarked as somewhat singular, that the first Article of 1553, relating to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, has no equivalent definition in the notice of the controversy between Hooper and the Worcester clergy-men; and yet the presence of such Article in the series he submitted to them, has been placed, as it would seem, beyond all reasonable doubt. In the *True Copy of Bishop Hooper's Visitation-Book*, there is an order to the following effect: 'That they faithfully teach and instruct the people committed unto their charge, that there is but one God,

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, II. note (6).

² 'Is (i.e. Hooperus) sub annum sextum Edouardi Regis VI. articulos multos, alios errore atque hæretica impietate plenos, alios catholicos, quo simplices et incautos magis deciperet....probandæ subscriptione postulavit atque docendos obtrusit.' Fol. 6.

everlasting, incorporate, almighty, wise and good, Maker and Conservor of heaven and earth, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also he will be called upon by us. And albeit there be but one God in essence and unity in the Godhead, nevertheless in the same unity there be Three distinct Persons,¹ etc. Fresh corroboration may also be derived from the first Article in Joliffe's publication. That article was chiefly aimed against the errors not of Romanizers but of Anabaptists, as we gather from a great contemporary work,² the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in which it re-appears; yet as the closing observation was intended to glance off at the scholastic dogma of repeated oblations of our blessed Lord in the sacrament of the altar, it was so far made the object of attack in the production of the Worcester prebendaries: and to this alone are we most probably indebted for the preservation there of all the Article.

But while the theory of archbishop Laurence, both as to the number and nature of the original draft, is shown to be untenable, it is suggestive of important investigations into the history of the Articles, and more especially of one investigation, which has not been hitherto pursued with the minuteness it deserves. What reasons chiefly weighed with the Reformers in selecting the particular subjects handled by them in the Articles of 1553? On what principle may we explain the introduction of this

¹ Art. II.

² The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (ed. Cardwell, 1850) was in process of construction at the same time with the Articles, and was the work of nearly the same hands. On this account it often forms an excellent commentary on the Articles themselves (see Hardwick's *Reform.* p. 215, n. 4). The section 'de Hæresibus' contains a strong denunciation of those phases of misbelief which at that time existed in the Church of England: 'quarum præsens pestis in perniciem religionis nostrorum temporum, adhuc incubat.' (c. 3.) In c. 5, among other false opinions of the Anabaptists reprobated by the compilers, there is one identical with that which comes out first in the Worcester controversy (cf. above, p. 78): 'Qui errores omnes sacramentorum auctoritate sic corrigendi sunt, ut Christus meliore natura Deus sempiternus accipiatur, et quidem æqualis sit Dei Patris; humana vero corpus habeat ex tempore factum, neque sæpius quam semel, neque ex alia materia quam ex Mariæ virginis vera et sola substantia.'

point, or the omission of that? Did they intend us to conclude that their new code of doctrine was put forward as a *system of theology*? Or did they mean it to express the judgment of the English Church on a variety of sacred topics strongly controverted in that age, within the limits of her jurisdiction?

The internal evidence afforded in the solving of these questions may be stated very briefly. In the title of the English Articles,¹ as published by Grafton in 1553, they are said to have been constructed with reference to '*certain matters of religion*;' and in all the copies, to have aimed at the 'establishment of a godly concord and the avoiding of controversies' agitated at the time.² Two Articles (the eighth and thirty-seventh) repudiate errors of the Anabaptists on original sin and a community of goods. Four others (from the thirty-ninth to the forty-second) are levelled at as many forms of misbelief relating to the resurrection, the sleep of the soul, the theory of a millennium, and the ultimate recovery of all human beings. The eighteenth places its anathema on those who dared to rob the Gospel of its claim to absolute supremacy. While the twelfth and thirteenth reject 'the doctrine of the schoolmen'³ touching human merit and works of supererogation; and the twenty-third, their doctrine touching purgatory, indulgence, and other figments which were strenuously defended in all quarters by the anti-reformation party.

¹ This translation, according to Dr. Cardwell, was probably made concurrently with the original Articles, and under the same direction. *Synod.* i. 18.

² This is noted in the Epilogue to the chapter *De Hæresibus*, in the *Reformatio Legum*, where many of the Articles re-appear in a somewhat different form: 'Posset magna colluvies aliarum hæresum accumulari, sed hoc tempore illas nominare solum volumus, quæ potissimum hæc nostris temporibus per Ecclesiam diffunduntur.' p. 22.

³ This phrase was exchanged in the Articles of 1563 for 'the Romish doctrine;' the council of Trent having in the mean while spoken out distinctly and adopted as portions of the Christian faith a number of opinions which had been long floating in the Church at large, and advocated by scholastics. It should be remembered that the sittings of the council had commenced in Dec. 1545: they continued till 1547: after an interruption of four years they were

With regard to the remainder of the XLII. Articles, though now impossible to speak with equal certainty, it is not difficult to trace the circumstances which produced them in contemporaneous annals of the English Church.¹ As in the case of the Angsburg Confession, which those Articles have followed not unfrequently, the authors had an eye in the first instance to existing dangers and emergencies. In other words, their formulary was constructed so as to repel not one but many different classes of critics and assailants. While protesting vigorously against the over-drawn distinctions and the over-learned figments of the 'orthodox' schoolmen, they endeavoured also to impose a curb on the licentiousness of private speculation, which was hitherto imperfectly kept under by the pressure of the papal yoke. It is indeed impossible to doubt the anti-Romish character of many of the Articles, or to dispute the general want of such a safeguard at the time of its construction; but few persons seem to be alive to the existence of other and of opposite evils, which were threatening not so much the outworks as the citadel of Christian truth. To borrow the emphatic language of an able writer² on the period, 'the papal infallibility was sometimes transferred to the leader of a petty sect: at other times a dreaming enthusiast would become his own pope, and would consult nothing but the oracle within his own breast.' That age indeed was a most stirring

resumed in May, 1551; but before the business of the synod was completed a very long suspension intervened, extending as far as Jan. 18, 1562. The various decrees were finally confirmed by a papal bull, bearing date Jan. 6, 1564. In several letters of Reformers we observe the interest with which they were watching the contemporary disputations at Trent, especially in the course of the eventful year, 1551: *e.g.*, Cranmer's *Works*, i. 346, 349.

¹ This was certainly the view of Cranmer when he requested the continental reformers to take part in such a compilation; and Calvin understood him in this sense, as we read in a letter which he addressed to the Archbishop while the English Articles were in progress. He there says that the doctors were invited, 'ut ex diversis ecclesiis, quæ puram Evangelii doctrinam amplexi sunt, convenirent precipui quique doctores, ac ex puro Dei verbo certam *de singulis capitibus hodiæ controversiis* ac dilucidam ad posteros confessionem ederent.' Cranmer's *Works*, i. 347.

² Le Bas, *Cranmer*, ii. 88.

crisis in the life of Western Europe; when the human spirit, starting up from its long torpor and finding itself free, was tempted to rush headlong into every kind of misbelief; when rationalist and mystic, one of them cold-hearted and the other feverish and impulsive, but alike presuming on their unresisted faculties and emotions, overleapt all ancient limits of religious thought as well as all the immemorial forms and usages of Christian countries. Ridley,¹ for example, was constrained to cry not long before his martyrdom: 'Whereas you write of the outrageous rule that Satan, our ghostly enemy, beareth abroad in the world, whereby he stirreth and raiseth up so pestilent and heinous heresies, as some to deny the Blessed Trinity, some the Divinity of our Saviour Christ, some the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, some the baptism of infants, some original sin, and to be infected with the errors of the Pelagians, and to re-baptize those that have been baptized with Christ's baptism already,—alas! Sir, this doth declare this time and these days to be wicked indeed.'

The ramification of these varied misbelievers may be traced, in many cases, to the scene² of the original collisions between the 'old' and 'new learning.' One of their distinctive errors, though not *the* grand characteristic of their system, was the absolute rejection of infant baptism; and from this peculiarity came the title 'Anabaptists.' Mistaking or perverting what was urged by Luther,³ as to the necessity of active, conscious faith in

¹ *Works*, p. 367, ed. P. S.

² 'It is a matter of the first importance that the Word of God should be preached here in German, to guard against the heresies which are introduced by our countrymen.' Micronius to Bullinger, in a letter dated London, May 20, 1550: *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 560.

³ This connexion was manifest in the case of Nicholas Storch, who had once been a disciple of Luther. His inference was, however, vehemently confuted in the *Catechismus Major*, Pars IV. § 21 sqq., and elsewhere in the works of the Saxon Reformers. When Luther first handled the subject in his *De Captiv. Babylon. Eccl.* (Opp. II. fol. 274, 6, Jenæ, 1600), and before the rise of Anabaptism, he contended: 'Hic dico, quod omnes dicunt, fide aliena parvulis succurri, illorum qui offerunt eos;' at the same time indicating a principle which he afterwards evolved more fully, *viz.*, that 'a habit

all partakers of the sacraments, they soon proceeded to postpone the ministration of the initiatory rite until the subjects of it had complied with all the requisite pre-conditions.

But the points at which they had departed from the ground of the Reformers were not limited to infant baptism. They proceeded to assail the Lutheran formula in which salvation was attributed to 'faith only,' and in agitating this they fell into a further question respecting the two natures of our blessed Lord and His essential Divinity. John Denk,¹ and others, now affirmed that man may earn salvation by his own virtuous actions, and regarded the Founder of Christianity chiefly in His character of Teacher and Exemplar. In Him, as one of the most spotless of our race, the Father was peculiarly manifested to the world, but to assert that Christ is the Redeemer, in the ordinary meaning of the term, was to convert Him into an idol. He was held to be a Saviour of His people, *because* He was the leader and forerunner of all who would be saved.

While notions of this kind were spreading rapidly on every side,² a second school of 'Anabaptists' was devising a very different creed.³ The tone of thought prevailing in the former school was strongly rationalistic: in the latter it was more entirely mystical. They introduced a dualistic (quasi-Manichean) distinction between the 'flesh' and 'spirit;' and instead of holding, like the former sect, that man, though fallen, may be rescued by his natural powers, they alleged that the 'flesh' alone participated in the fall, and further, that when the material element in him was most of all obnoxious to the indignation of God, the spirit still continued free and uncontaminated by the vilest of the outward actions. They attributed the restoration of harmony between these

of faith' is then infused by Divine grace into the unconscious infant, and forms the subjective ground on which the sacrament takes effect.

¹ See Ranke, *Ref.* III. 559 sq., and Heberle's article in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1855), pp. 817 sq.

² Ranke, 561, 562.

³ John Gastius, *De Anabaptistarum exordio*, etc. ed. Basil, 1544, has specified seven distinct sects, pp. 496-501.

elements of our nature to the intervention of the Logos, but maintained that His humanity was peculiar, not consisting of flesh and blood which He derived from the substance of the Virgin. Not a few of these same 'Anabaptists' afterwards abandoned every semblance of belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and so passed over to the Arian and Socinian schools, then rising up in Switzerland, in Italy, and in Poland.¹

In addition to these deadly errors, some of the original Anabaptists had insisted on the dogma of an absolute necessity. Others preached the restoration of all things, and the ultimate conversion of the devil.² Others fancied that the soul will sleep throughout the interval between death and judgment; while the great majority of them cherished the belief that in a kingdom (the millennial) to be speedily established, there would be no longer any need of an external magistracy, nor even of the guidance furnished by the Written Word of God. In close connexion with this hope, they now asserted the community of goods. They censured military service of a merely secular kind, and steadily objected to the taking of an oath in their negotiations with the world in general. Some moreover held that the observance of the Lord's-day was anti-christian; others openly advocated a licence of polygamy, and are even charged with holding that to those who had received the Spirit, or, in other words, had passed the Anabaptist ordeal of initiation, adultery was itself no sin. By all it was agreed that Anabaptists were at liberty to evade the jurisdiction both of civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, to denounce the latter more especially as a grievous burden, and to aid in the emancipation of all Christians from the discipline as well as doctrine of the Catholic Church.

If we add to this imperfect sketch of continental Anabaptism³ one of the most prominent of its remaining

¹ Hardwick's *Reform.* pp. 262. sqq.

² It is observable (*Ibid.* p. 257, n. 5) that they sought to establish this theory of 'universalism' (the terminability of future punishment) partly by referring to abstract ideas of God, and partly by broaching new interpretations of the word 'eternal.'

³ These and other errors may be seen at large in Hermann's *Con-*

features, we shall understand how formidable the system must have looked to all the sober and devout Reformers. It was advocated as a leading principle that every Anabaptist was not only able, but was *bound*, to execute the office of a teacher as soon as he perceived within his breast the motions of the Holy Spirit. The effect of this immediate inspiration also made the preacher independent of the Sacred Volume, which he sometimes ventured to denominate 'mere dead letter,'—obsolete in itself, and in the course of its transmission falsified in such a manner as to be unworthy of the faith of full-grown Christians. Thus the last external check imposed on man's presumptuous speculations ran the risk of being summarily demolished; and if Anabaptism had prevailed it would have reared its throne upon the ruins of all ancient institutions, and have trampled underfoot the Word of God itself.

The date at which the Anabaptist emissaries found their way to England is not handed down exactly by the chroniclers of the period. As the sect had no single leader and no one locality, its movements were obscure and desultory, and are therefore somewhat difficult to follow. In the year 1538, however, its appearance in this country had attracted the attention of the government, and elicited a royal prohibition adverted to above.¹ A letter, written

sultation, sign. t. iii. sq. Lond. 1547; in Zwingli's *Elenchus contra Catabaptistas*; in Melancthon's *Propositions against the Doctrine of the Anabaptists* (German); in Luther's *Schriften*, xx. 2089 sqq. ed. 1745, where other evidence is given (2072–2229); in Bullinger's work *Adversus omnia Catabaptistarum prava Dogmata*, ed. Tiguri, 1535. See also Ranke, *ubi sup.*, and Möhler's *Symbolik*, II. 155–158, Eng. transl.

¹ See above, p. 33. For other traces of them at this period, see *Institution of a Christian Man*, pp. 93, 94; Wilkins, III. 843, 847. By 32 Hen. VIII. c. 49, § 11, all who held the following tenets were excluded from the pardon which had been granted by the King in July, 1540: 'That infants ought not to be baptised, and if they be baptised they ought to be re-baptised when they com to lafull age: That it is not leafull for a Christen man to beare office or rule in the Commen Welth: That no mans lawes ought to be obeyed: That it is not leafull for a Christen man to take an othe before any judge: That Christ toke no bodily substance of our blessed lady: That Synners afre baptisme cannot be restored by repentance: That every maner of Death, with the tyme and houre thereof, is so certainly prescribed, appointed and determyned to every man of God, that neither

at the same time, by certain of the German princes,¹ intimates that revolutionary spirits who had long excited apprehension on the continent were crossing over to this side of the Channel: but the stringent measures instantly adopted by Henry VIII. for the extermination of the sectaries continued to retard their progress during the remainder of his reign. It seems, however, that in Edward's time the vigilance of the executive was gradually relaxed; for Anabaptists rose at once into a considerable body, then beginning, it is said, 'to look abroad and to disperse their dotages.'² They flourished more particularly in Essex and in Kent;³ and Hooper, foremost in his zeal against them, left a frightful picture of their misbelief. In writing to Bullenger, June 25, 1549, he says: 'The Anabaptists flock to the place [*i.e.*, of his lecture], and give me much trouble with their opinions respecting the Incarnation of our Lord; for they deny altogether that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary according to the flesh. They contend, that a man who is reconciled to God is without sin, and free from all stain of concupiscence, and that nothing of the old Adam remains in his nature; and a man, they say, who is thus regenerate cannot sin. They add, that all hope of pardon is taken away from those who, after having received the Holy Ghost, fall into sin. They maintain a fatal necessity, and that beyond and besides that will of His, which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures, God hath

any prince by his sworde can altre it, ne any man by his owne wilfulnes prent or change it: That all things be common and nothing severall.'

¹ Seckendorf, lib. III. sect. XVII. § LXVI. p. 181. The princes affirm that, besides the hostility of Anabaptism to the civil magistrate, it had introduced an endless confusion of opinions, denying the Divinity and the two natures of Christ, as well as original sin, and propagating false and absurd notions on the doctrine of justification.

² Heylin, *Hist. Reform.* i. 153; ed. Robertson: Carte, II. 252. The latter authority, quoting Strype, mentions a very strange circumstance connected with the spread of Anabaptism. A letter dated Delft, May 12, 1549, was addressed to bishop Gardiner acquainting him that, in consequence of the projected organisation of the Reformers, it became necessary to introduce divisions among them, and that this would be best effected by preaching up the Anabaptist doctrines.

³ *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 87.

another will by which He altogether acts under some kind of necessity. . . . How dangerously our England is affected by heresies of this kind, God only knows: I am unable indeed, from sorrow of heart, to express to your piety. There are some who deny that man is endued with a soul different from that of a beast, and subject to decay. Alas! not only are these heresies reviving among us which were formerly dead and buried, but *new ones are springing up every day*. There are such libertines and wretches who are daring enough, in their conventicles, not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed Seed a mischievous fellow, and deceiver of the world. On the other hand, a great portion of the kingdom so adheres to the popish faction as altogether to set at naught God and the lawful authority of the magistrates; so that I am greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil discord.¹

While Hooper and some others like him were thus combating the errors which beset them in their daily ministrations, a royal commission (Jan. 18, 1550) was vigorously at work in aid of their endeavours.² Many of the leading misbelievers were compelled to recant, or, in the language of the time, 'to bear their faggots at Paul's Cross.' From what has been recorded of proceedings of this nature, we determine the precise complexion of the heresy impugned; and while it must be granted that some persons, like Champneys,³ did not venture to assail the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, some others, as Assheton⁴ for example, openly denied the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Saviour.⁵ The

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 65, 66: cf. Hooper's English 'Articles,' § 6. In the course of the same year (1549) he put forth a special treatise against the Anabaptists, entitled *A Lesson of the Incarnation of Christ*, 'Later Writings,' ed. P. S. 1852.

² Cf. Wilkins, IV. 66.

³ Strype, *Cranmer*, II. 92, 93. Among the propositions maintained by him were the following: (1) That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin: (2) That the outward man might sin, but the inward man could not: (3) That God doth permit to all his elect people their bodily necessities of all worldly things.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 95.

⁵ Joan of Kent was burnt May 2, 1550, for maintaining a heresy like that of the early Valentinians. She denied that our Lord took

appalling spread of Arian notions is deplored indeed by a contemporary writer, as among the greatest and most deadly of the manifold calamities then pressing on the Church of England, and perplexing the spirit of her teachers. 'We have not only (he writes) to contend with the papists, who are almost everywhere ashamed of their errors, but much more with the sectaries, and Epicureans, and pseudo-evangelicals.¹ In addition to the ancient errors² respecting pædo-baptism, the Incarnation of Christ, the authority of the magistrate, the [lawfulness of an] oath, the property and community of goods, and the like, *new ones are rising up every day*, with which we have to contend. The chief opponents, however, of Christ's Divinity are the Arians, who are now beginning to shake our Churches *with greater violence than ever*, as they deny the conception of Christ by the Virgin.'³

In September 1552, a further missive, emanating from the royal council urged the primate to repress the evil-doings of another sect 'newly sprung up in Kent.'⁴ The name and character of this sect have not been distinctly placed on record, but we have good reason for concluding that it formed the earliest wave of a disastrous inundation which diffused itself extensively in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Becon,⁵ writing

flesh of the Virgin, from a persuasion that He would in that case have shared the sinfulness of man's nature. See above, p. 81, note 2. That this docetic view respecting the Incarnation was common in 1549 we may infer from Hooper's *Lesson of the Incarnation of Christ*.

¹ Otherwise nicknamed 'Gospellers.' For a sketch of them at this period, see Becon's *Works* ('Catechism,' etc.), pp. 415, 416, ed. P. S.

² The letter is dated London, Aug. 14, 1551. Cf. *Zurich Letters*, i. 30, 92.

³ *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 574: cf. p. 560. 'On the 24th of April, a Dutchman was burned in Smithfield for Arianism: 'Stow's *Chron.* p. 605, Lond. 1632. Among other subjects of inquiry during Hooper's visitation in this same year, he asks 'Whether any of them speak unreverently of God the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost?' Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 355.

⁴ Strype, *Cranmer*, ii. 410.

⁵ *Works* ('Catechism,' etc.), p. 415, ed. P. S. The name *Davidians* is derived from the Dutchman, *David George*, the real founder of the *Family of Love* (*Hardwick's Reform.* p. 268). In a letter written from

at the period when the sectaries arose entitles them 'Davidians,' or the followers of David, at the same time classing their 'wicked and ungodly opinions' with those of the Anabaptists and the Libertines. They subsequently bore the title 'Family of Love,' and under it became a large association of distempered spiritualists, who set at naught the letter of the Holy Scriptures and professed to raise man out of his subjection to all outward, introductory economies. In this second stage of their existence, they had found an active leader in Henry Niclas or Nicholas, a native of Amsterdam;¹ and one of the directions given by him to all who joined his standard indicates the sweeping and annihilative temper of the system he was building up: 'They must pass four most terrible castles full of cumbersome enemies, before they come to the House of Love; the first is, of John Calvin, the second the Papists, the third Martin Luther, the fourth the Anabaptists; and passing these dangers they may be of the Family, else not.'²

But these external causes of anxiety and annoyance were accompanied by dissension, irritation, and misgiving in the bosom of the Church itself. The contest which arose in 1550 between Hooper and Ridley on the subject of ecclesiastical vestments³ was a specimen of the incessant struggle everywhere maintained between adherents of the old and of the new ideas.⁴ Hooper, fresh from Zürich,

London, May 20, 1550, it is stated that 'there are Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, *Davists*, and the like monstrosities, in great numbers.' *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 560. The editor has added no explanation of the term, *Davists*, but it seems to be intended for *Davists* or Davidians. The form *Davidistæ* occurs elsewhere in the same sense.

¹ *The displaying of an horrible secte of grosse and wicked Heretiques, naming themselves the Family of Love, etc.*, by John Rogers, Lond. 1579, sign. A. iij.

² *Ibid.* A. iij. b.

³ See Strype's chapter (*Memorials of Cranmer*, Bk. II. ch. xvii.) on this question; and Heylin's *Hist. Reform.* i. 193, 194, ed. Robertson. There are also frequent notices of it in the *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. e.g. pp. 9, 91, 271, 486, 586, 672—675.

⁴ A notable instance occurred in the controversy with regard to kneeling at the Holy Communion (*Hardwick's Ref.* p. 206, and n. 4). The scruples on this subject though strongly shared by Knox (*Ibid.* p.

where he had been fascinated by the Zwinglian usages and also to a great extent infected by Swiss theology, was the avowed opponent of the English Ordinal as well as of the first of the Edwardine Prayer-Books.¹ He conformed indeed, eventually (in 1551) on his promotion to the see of Gloucester; but throughout the reign of Edward he was ever actively at work in fostering the growth of anti-Mediæval tastes, and pushing forward an 'entire purification of the Church from the very foundation.'²

It is most important to observe, as throwing light upon the scruples of Hooper and his party, that when Cranmer, in conjunction with the royal council, first made use of Articles of Religion, in 1549, to test the orthodoxy of preachers and lecturers in divinity, Hooper was unable to acquiesce in *three* of those Articles (May 1550). The two relating to the Ordinal and Prayer-Book were distasteful to him, as we might have readily predicted from our general knowledge of his character and bias; but until the recent publication of letters³ where those Articles are mentioned, no one seems to have suspected that Hooper had been also brought into collision with such men as Cranmer, Ridley and Bucer, on the nature and efficacy of the Christian Sacraments. The third obnoxious Article in that early series had made use of the expression 'sacraments confer grace,'—which, having been exposed already to the stern denunciations both of Zwingli and Calvin, had come to be regarded as a party badge, or war-cry,⁴ alienating Swiss from Saxon theologians. While the schoolmen

136, n. 4) appear to have been generated by the influence of foreign refugees; to whose proceedings, it is worthy of notice, Ridley was also vehemently opposed. *Original Letters*, pp. 568, 569.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 563.

² *Ibid.* p. 674.

³ *Ibid.* p. 563. This particular letter was from Martin Micronius to Bullinger, and bears date, 'London, May 28, 1550.' The articles (cf. above, p. 72) were proposed to him by the council on his nomination to the see of Gloucester; but we may reasonably identify them with the articles used by Cranmer in the previous December.

⁴ See, for instance, the *Consensus Tigurinus* (printed in Niemeyer), § xvii. Calvin, however, whose appreciation of the sacraments is far deeper than Zwingli's, objected chiefly to the phrase 'sacramenta per se gratiam conferunt;' cf. *Instit.* Lib. iv. c. 17.

anxious above all things to establish the *objective* character and virtue of the sacraments, insisted strongly on the phrase '*continere gratium*,' Luther and his followers, in the later stages¹ of their teaching, clung to such expressions as '*conferre gratiam*,' '*efficacia signa*,' and the like; by which they inculcated the great fact that Sacraments are used by God as channels of His grace without forgetting the correlative truth of human susceptibility. So distinct indeed were their conceptions as to the legitimacy of the phrases '*sacraments confer grace*,' '*baptism works* or *confers regeneration*,' that numerous examples have been put on record where the contradiction of those statements is vehemently condemned.² In England,³ also, there had never been a disposition to reduce the sacraments into inoperative signs or outward badges. Both before and after the Reformation they were termed '*effectual signs*,' '*instruments with which and by which it pleases God to work*,' material means and vehicles through which, in virtue of His institution, blessings were derived to every member of the Church. With reference more particularly to the sacrament of baptism, the Baptismal Office of our own Reformers was derived in no small measure from Luther's *Taufbüchlein*,⁴ itself the offspring and reflection

¹ Even Möhler (*Symb.* i. 294) fully acquits the Lutherans of the charge of heresy on this subject; though he contends that some of the earlier language, both of Luther and Melancthon, was 'most decidedly opposed to the Catholic Church,' in seeming to make the efficacy of the sacraments depend entirely on human dispositions. He refers to such passages as that of Luther, *De Capt. Babylon. Eccl.* (Tom. II. fol. 272, Opp. Jenæ, 1600), where the phrase *efficacia signa gratia*, as defining sacraments, is only accepted after some qualification (cf. Henry VIII.'s critique in the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, sign. I. 4; ed. 1522).

² e.g., in the Saxon *Articuli Visitatorii* (Francke, *Lit. Symb.* App. p. 119), one of the propositions of the Swiss reformers there selected for condemnation is: '*Baptismum non operari neque conferre regenerationem, fidem, gratiam et salutem, sed tantum significare et obsignare ista.*' Cf. a remarkable passage on this subject in the *Kirchen-Ordnung* for the duchies of Brunswick and Lüneburg (1569), pp. 64, 65, Hanover, 1853.

³ See *Notes and Illustrations*, Art. xxv. Art. xxvii. at the end of the present volume.

⁴ Daniel's *Codeæ Lit. Eccl. Luth.* p. 185; Procter, *On the Prayer-Book*, Part II. ch. iv. The derivation took place through the medium of Hermann's *Consultation*.

of far older Manuals. But a different state of feeling had grown up respecting sacraments in all those parts of Switzerland which were affected by the Reformation-movement. Calvin and his school repudiated, it is true, the frigid theories of Zwingli, and, unlike him, treated sacraments not only as external badges of membership in a religious body, but as 'organs' in the hands of God for certifying faithful men of their connexion with Himself.¹ The sacraments were thus *obsignatory*; they were signs and seals of blessings which already appertained to the recipient as a child of grace, and thus their real efficacy was restricted to the single class of Christians who were destined to be ultimately saved. To call a sacrament the channel or conductor of grace was further deemed in Switzerland 'a most insipid superstition.'²

Now it is observable that when Hooper started his objections to the word 'confer' in the expression 'sacraments confer grace,' he wished to substitute for it 'seal' or 'testify to,'³ exactly in the Swiss or Calvinistic manner. He was probably supported in his view by several of the foreign refugees, by Laski⁴ for example and by Peter Martyr; though their colleague Bucer, as a moderate 'Lutheran,' showed no sympathy with Hooper,⁵ and made use of very different language in speaking of the sacraments.⁶ It seems, moreover, that discussions on these topics, and especially with reference to the benefits of infant baptism had been waxing hot in England anterior to the spring of 1552.

¹ See *Consensus Tigurinus*, c. vii., and a full discussion of these points in Schenkel, *Das Wesen des Protestantismus*, i. 466 sq. Schaffhausen, 1846.

² *Consensionis Caputum Explicatio*, in Niemeyer, p. 209.

³ *Orig. Letters*, p. 563.

⁴ See Laski (à Lasco), *De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*, fol. 10 b. Lond. 1552, where it is said that baptism is not a 'medium salutis nostræ,' but an 'obsignaculum.'

⁵ See *Orig. Letters*, Dec. 28, 1550, p. 675.

⁶ He adhered to the obnoxious phrase 'conferre gratiam,' in his *Script. Anglic.* p. 477: cf. *Original Letters*, pp. 572, 652. On the Eucharist his ultimate position was: 'Quod panis et vinum sint signa exhibitiva quibus datis et acceptis simul detur et accipiatur Corpus Christi:' Schenkel, as above, p. 545, n. 8.

A letter,¹ from Peter Martyr to Bullinger, bearing date June 14 of that year, has mentioned that such controversy was 'the chief reason why other things which were purposed,' in addition to the reformation of the Prayer-Book, 'had not been effected;' there perhaps implying that delays which had arisen,² in regard to the authoritative issue of the Articles, were caused in some degree by hesitations among English prelates on the nature of the sacraments. The author of this document, we should remember, leaned himself in the direction of the Calvinistic theory. A version of his 'book on the Lord's Supper could not be printed' in 1550 'owing to the bishops, and those two Gospellers :'³ and so strenuous was the opposition he had always cherished to the Lutherans and the Augsburg Confession,⁴ that on quitting England he could not reside at Strasburg, but betook himself to Zürich. It is not surprising, therefore, if we find a man like Peter Martyr writing mainly on the side of Hooper, and propounding what are known as 'Calvinistic' tenets. In his view 'the reception and use of the sacraments' in general 'is the seal and *obsignation* of the promise already apprehended.'⁵ 'But,' he continues, 'in the case of children, when they are baptized, since on account of their age they cannot have that assent to the Divine promises which is faith, in them the sacrament effects this,—that pardon of original sin, reconciliation with God, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, bestowed on them through Christ, is *sealed* in them, and that those *belonging already* to the Church are also visibly implanted in it.' He adds, however, that this effort of the Swiss or Calvinistic party to alter the received opinions of the English, was opposed by the less sweeping section of Reformers, persons neither few in number 'nor in other respects unlearned or evil,'⁶ all of whom contended vigor-

¹ First edited by the Rev. W. Goode, Lond. 1850: cf. a *Letter to the Rev. W. Goode* (respecting this document), by the Rev. F. Massingberd, Lond. 1850.

² Above, p. 74.

³ *Orig. Letters*, p. 561.

⁴ *Zurich Letters*, II. 48, 111, ed. P. S.

⁵ *Unpublished Letter*, etc. p. 6.

⁶ 'Sed reclamatum est; et volunt multi, atque hi alias non inducti neque mali, per sacramenta (ut aiunt) conferri gratiam. Neque

ously that 'grace is conferred, as they say, by means of the sacraments' (per sacramenta), and that children in particular are not 'justified or regenerated prior to their baptism.' We are also told that in repelling the attempted innovation, the Reformers took their stand especially upon the works of St. Augustine, whose authority both Martyr and his friends were held to have most seriously disparaged if not utterly cast off.¹ The issue therefore had been most unfavourable to the advocates of change, who comforted themselves by hoping to accomplish 'at some other time what has now failed of success;' and very noticeable is the fact that Hooper, who began the controversy, seems to have eventually adopted language in complete accordance with the English formularies. In explaining the nature of 'sacraments,' he urges that they 'are not only signs whereby something is signified [the Zwinglian hypothesis], but also they are such signs as do exhibit and *give* [? *conferunt*] the grace that they signify indeed.'²

By recollecting the existence of those feuds within the camp of the Reformers we are able to discern additional force and fitness in the Articles of 1553, attempting as they did in a most feverish epoch to establish 'godly concord in certain matters of religion.'

We turn, then, to the document itself,³ in order to point out the origin and purpose of its several definitions.

The first article, 'Of Faith in the Holy Trinity,' is

volunt concedere parvulos justificatos aut regeneratos ante baptismum.' *Ibid.* p. 16.

¹ 'Ex eo tamen hand parva nobis movetur invidia, quod ab Augustino prorsus dissentiamus.' *Ibid.*

² *Later Writings*, p. 45, ed. P. S. Although the actual words 'conferre gratiam' do not appear in our present Articles, the thought is found substantially in such phrases as 'efficacia signa per quæ operatur,' and 'tanquam per instrumentum.' The very words moreover recur in the *Heads of Religion*, compiled by Parker and his friends in 1559 (Strype, *Annals*, i. 216, 217). Bp. Ridley, who was doubtless one of Martyr's 'multi atque hi alias non indocti,' in his *Disputation at Oxford* (Works, p. 24, ed. P.S.), makes use of precisely the same kind of language: 'This sacrament [*i. e.*, the Eucharist] hath a promise of grace, made to those who receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument.'

³ See Appendix, No. III., where these Articles are printed both in English and Latin.

borrowed almost verbatim from the Augsburg Confession. While condemning the pantheism and blasphemy of Servetus,¹ it extended also, like the corresponding article of its prototype, to 'new' as well as old disciples of Paul of Samosata, of Arius, of Sabellius, of Photinus, who, in the disguise of Anabaptists, were subverting the foundations of the faith.

The second article, respecting the Incarnation of the Word, is also borrowed from the Augsburg Confession.² The grand truth which it is meant to vindicate was strenuously assailed by 'Anabaptists,'³ and others, who are censured in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*,⁴ as then actually infesting the Church of England.

The doctrine asserted in the third article ('Of the going down into Hell') was in like manner agitated in this country at the time we are considering.⁵ We shall see hereafter that the violence of the controversy to which it had given rise induced the Convocation of 1563 to drop the final clause as it was left in the present version.⁶

The fourth article, on the 'Resurrection of Christ,' is complementary to the second and third, affirming the proper manhood of our blessed Lord, against the mystical (half-docetic) class of Anabaptists. The fact of His resurrection, in the ordinary sense, had been impugned by a Silesian noble, Caspar Schwenckfeld,⁷ who, as early as 1528, contended that the flesh of Christ had never been the flesh of a created being, and is now so deified as to retain no semblance of humanity.

The fifth article, on the 'Sufficiency of Holy Scripture,'

¹ See above, p. 86, and Art. i. of 1538, App. No. ii.

² See Art. ii. of 1538, App. No. ii.

³ See above, pp. 88 sq.

⁴ *De Hæresibus*, c. v. In the strange work of Myles Huggard, *The Displaying of the Protestantes*, Lond. 1556, sign. B. ii., we read of a person condemned for holding 'how Christ was only incarnate and suffered death for all those that died before His incarnation, and not for them that died synce.'

⁵ *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 561, (dated, London, May 20, 1550).

⁶ Strype, *Annals of Reform.* i. 348, ed. 1725. See some of the numerous and conflicting theories on this subject, in Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 504, ed. 1718.

⁷ *Hardwick's Reform.* pp. 266 sq.

was originally constructed with a two-fold reference. It asserted (1) the necessity of Scriptural proof for every doctrine of the Church, and so repudiated the scholastic and Tridentine errors on the subject of 'the Word unwritten.'¹ It condemned (2) an opposite class of misbelievers, the 'Illuminati' of that period, who disparaged the authority of the Bible as compared with the *immediate* inspirations of which they were the fanatic channel.² It is also careful in the second clause to guard against the misconceptions of extreme Reformers, such as Zwingli, who maintained that all the usages of the Church must be deducible from the directions of Holy Scripture.³

The sixth article, enjoining a due reverence for the Old Testament, was manifestly levelled at the Anabaptist emissaries,⁴ many of whom denied, as did Servetus, that the Jewish system was vitally connected with the Christian, or that worthies of the introductory œconomy had the faintest expectation of a life beyond the present.⁵

The seventh article, exactly like the first of those compiled in 1536, accepted the authoritative definitions contained in the Three Creeds, condemning thereby all the heresies of modern and of ancient growth, which were assailing the more cardinal verities of the Gospel.

The eighth article, 'Of Original or Birth Sin,' is

¹ See above, pp. 37 sq. The Council of Trent had stereotyped this error in the year 1546: Sarpi, i. 266, ed. Courayer.

² 'In quo genere teterrimi illi sunt (itaque a nobis primum nominabuntur), qui Sacras Scripturas ad infirmorum tantum hominum debilitatem alegant et detrudunt, sibi sic ipsi interim præfidentes, ut earum autoritate se teneri non putent, sed *peculiarem quandam spiritum jactant*, a quo sibi omnia suppeditari aiunt, quæcunque docent et faciunt.' *Reform. Leg. Eccl.* 'de Hæresibus,' c. 3. Bp. Alley (*Poore Mans Librarie*, i. 171a) is referring to this peculiarity when he speaks of 'Swinckfeldians and other fantastical heades, which do deprave the holye Scripture:' Lond. 1565: cf. *Dorman's Disproof of M. Nouvelles Reprouve*, ch. xxiv. Antwerp, 1563.

³ See above, p. 14.

⁴ 'Multi nostris temporibus inveniuntur, inter quos Anabaptistæ præcipue sunt collocandi, ad quos si quis vetus Testamentum alleget, illud pro abrogato jam et obsoleto penitus habent, omnia quæ in illo posita sunt ad prisca majorum nostrorum tempora referentes.' *Reform. Leg. Eccl.* Ibid. c. 4.

⁵ Calvin, *Instit.* Lib. II. c. 10, § 1: cf. Gastius, *de Anabaptist.* p. 305.

elled at the early misbelief which had been propagated by Pelagius and his party; 'whiche also the Anabaptistes¹ now-a-daies renue.' Like the second of the Augsburg Articles, from which it was derived, it may have also been intended to rebuke a prevalent error of scholastics touching the entire eradication of original sin by the sacrament of baptism, or even to repudiate the more definite determinations on that subject, recently proceeding from the Council of Trent.²

The ninth article, 'Of Free Will,' is intimately related to the one preceding, and was meant to disavow all sympathy with Anabaptism on the subject of preventing and co-operating grace.³

The tenth article, 'Of Grace,' was meant as a reply to opposite errors current in a second school of Anabaptism,⁴ and adopted by a few of the more violent Reformers, who were sometimes called the 'Gospellers.'⁵ They seem to have been pushing their belief in absolute predestination to such frightful lengths that human actions were deemed involuntary, and the *evil* choice of man ascribed a necessitating fiat of his Maker.

The eleventh article, touching our justification 'by only faith in Jesus Christ,' is found to coincide almost entirely with the fourth of the Augsburg Articles. Like that it was directed against ideas of human merit, which had long been propagated, more or less distinctly, in the whole of Western Christendom.⁶ It may have also been designed to advert upon the kindred tenets of the Anabaptists on the same vital question.⁷

¹ Cf. *Reform. Leg. Eccl.* Ibid. c. 7, and Hermann's *Consult.* sign. t. Lond. 1547.

² See above, p. 18, n. 2. The question had been decided by the dentine divines, June 17, 1546: Sarpi, i. 319.

³ See above, p. 85. This reference also is clearly established by the testimony of *Reformatio Legum.* Ibid. c. 7.

⁴ See Bp. Hooper's *Letter*, above cited, pp. 88, 89.

⁵ Hooper's *Early Writings*, p. 421. ed. P. S.

⁶ For some traces, however, of a sounder doctrine, more especially among the Thomist schoolmen, see Field, *On the Church*, App. Book c. xii.

⁷ See above, p. 85; and compare *Reform. Legum. Eccl.* Ibid. c. 7. Hermann's *Consult.* sign. t. vii. we read: 'They (the Anabaptists) take themselves to be ryghtuous and to please God, not purely and

The twelfth article, entitled 'Works before Justification,' or, more properly, 'Works before the grace of Christ,' repudiates the error of certain 'schole-aucthores,' who affirmed and were affirming that the favour of God may be recovered (or, in other words, that man may be *entitled to receive initial grace*), as the reward of actions, which resulted from his own strength, or had been wrought by him without dependence on the Holy Spirit.¹

The thirteenth article, on 'Works of Supererogation,' was similarly levelled at a well-known figment of some later schoolmen.²

The fourteenth article, affirming that our blessed Lord alone was born without sin, impugns the Romish doctrine with regard to the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin.³

The fifteenth, 'Of Sin against the Holy Ghost,' is borrowed chiefly from the Augsburg Confession, and asserts distinctly the remissibility of sins committed after baptism. The errors broached upon this subject in the primitive Church were all revived (as we have seen) among the Anabaptists at the period of the Reformation.⁴

The sixteenth article, entitled 'Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost,' defines the nature of this unpardonable sin, apparently with a view of obviating strong temptations to despair, which had been generated by the heresy denounced in the preceding article.

The seventeenth article, 'Of Predestination and Election,' was intended to allay the numerous altercations that were stirred in the reforming body,⁵ as well as in scholastic

absolutely for Christes sake, but for theyr owne mortification of themselves, for theyr owne good workes and persecution, if they suffre any.'

¹ The Dominicans, at the council of Trent, condemned this idea of merit *de congruo* as Pelagian : Sarpi, i. 344.

² Cf. *Reformat. Legum Eccl.* Ibid. c. 8 : Field, *On the Church*, App. Book III. c. xiii. : Joliffe, *Against Hooper*, fol. 175.

³ See Field, *Ibid.* c. vi. : Joliffe, *Against Hooper*, fol. 165.

⁴ See above, p. 88, and compare *Reform. Leg. Eccl.* Ibid. c. 9.

⁵ Many of the particulars of these disputes have been transcribed by archbishop Laurence, from a MS. in the Bodleian, and published under the title *Authentic Documents relating to the Predestinarian Controversy*. For still earlier traces of it, see Bp. Gardiner's *Declaration* (against George Joye), fol. li. sqq. Lond. 1546. From John

and Anabaptist circles by these awful and mysterious topics. It is careful at the same time to repudiate fatalistic errors into which some 'curious and carnal persons' were betrayed by taking a one-sided view of doctrines then discussed.¹

The eighteenth article is levelled at a philosophical theory of the rationalistic school of Anabaptists,² who contended that if men were sincere only in following out their own systems, their deliberate rejection of the Saviour of the world would prove no obstacle to their salvation.

The nineteenth contemplates another (mystical) branch of the same faction,³ who, by putting forth the plea of preternatural illumination, made themselves superior to the moral law, and circulated opinions respecting it 'most evidently repugnant to the Holy Scripture.'

The twentieth article, while defining the 'Church'⁴ in language very similar to that employed in the seventh of the Augsburg series, negatives a plea then urged in many quarters with respect to the infallibility of the particular Church of Rome.

The twenty-first Article, 'Of the authority of the Church,' was levelled in like manner at the Romanizing party;⁵ and although it advocates the Church's right of

Knox's Answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist and aduersarie of God's eternal Predestination, we gather that the controversy continued to rage at least till 1560.

¹ The prevalence of these perversions is thus noted in the *Reformatio Legum*: 'Ad extremum in Ecclesia multi feris et dissolutis moribus vivunt, qui cum re ipsa curiosi sint, differti luxu, et a Christi Spiritu prorsus alieni, semper prædestinationem et rejectionem, vel, ut usitate loquuntur, reprobationem, in sermone jactant, ut cum æterno consilio Deus vel de salute, vel de interitu aliquid certi constituerit, inde latebram suis maleficiis et sceleribus, et omnis generis perversitati quærant.' *Ibid.* c. 22.

² See the *Reformatio Legum*, which characterizes this error as 'horribilis et immanis audacia.' *Ibid.* c. 11.

³ See above, p. 85.

⁴ The Worcester prebendary (Joliffe) thought this definition imperfect on account of its silence touching the *oneness* of the Church, and the 'continuous succession of the vicars of Christ.' He admits that the Roman Church had erred in the 'agenda' of religion, but not in the 'credenda,' fol. 80: cf. *Reform. Leg.* *Ibid.* c. 21.

⁵ Joliffe, *Against Hooper*, fol. 82, 83.

acting as a witness and keeper of Holy Scripture, pronounces her unauthorised to issue a decree at variance with that record.

The twenty-second article, 'Of the Authority of General Councils,' vindicates the right of the civil power to call together such assemblies. It maintains moreover that some councils commonly reputed 'general' at the period of the Reformation¹ had fallen into actual error.

The twenty-third determines that the 'doctrine of school-authors,' with regard to purgatory, image-worship and some other kindred superstitions,² are follies and figments unsupported by Holy Writ, or, rather, are antagonistic to the teaching of the Sacred Volume.

The twenty-fourth is manifestly levelled at a characteristic error of the Anabaptists, who maintained that any one, believing himself called to the work of the ministry was bound to exercise his functions as a preacher in defiance of all church-authority. It is based upon the fourteenth of the Augsburg Articles.³

The twenty-fifth declares, in opposition to the Romanizing party, that the language of the public Service-Book should always be intelligible to the people.

The twenty-sixth article, 'Of the Sacraments,' appears to have a manifold application to the circumstances of the times. The first and second clauses were designed (1) to limit the number of evangelical rites to which the title 'sacrament' is properly affixed, and (2) to warn against the error of supposing that Baptism and the Eucharist produce

¹ The *Reformatio Legum* is an excellent commentary on this Article. It declares that we reverently accept the four great œcumenical councils, and defer to the decisions of many of the later synods, so far as they upheld the fundamentals of religion: 'De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica,' c. 14.

² Cf. *Reform. Leg.* 'de Hæresibus,' c. 10, and Joliffe, *Against Hooper*, fol. 90 sqq. It is remarkable that the copy of this Article as signed by the royal chaplains (Oct. 1552), contains a censure of 'praying for the dead,' which had been subsequently dropped (perhaps in Convocation).

³ See above, p. 20: and comp. *Reform. Leg.* Ibid. c. 16. In *Hugard's Displaying of the Protestantes*, sign. B. iii. we read: 'A brick-lauer taken vpon him the office of preachyng, affirmed he myght lauffully do it, though he were not called therevnto by y^e Church. For *Spiritus ubi vult spirat.*'

effects without regard to the condition or susceptibility of the recipient. On the contrary, the third clause, like the ninth of the Thirteen Articles of 1538, is made to combat a prevailing misconception, to the effect that sacraments were no more than empty rites or outward badges.¹

The twenty-seventh, which is included in the fifth of the Thirteen Articles, maintains, in opposition to the sectaries of the day,² that the validity of sacraments is undestroyed by personal unfitness in the minister.

The twenty-eighth, 'Of Baptism,' seems to be a prolongation of the censure passed with reference both to Baptism and the Eucharist in Article XXVI. It states expressly that Christian Baptism is far more than a professional badge or sign of membership in a society, and vindicates 'the custom of the Church' in her retention of *infant* baptism.³

The twenty-ninth, 'Of the Lord's Supper,' while repudiating the chief errors of the Zwinglian School, condemns with equal emphasis the opposite dogma of some physical transubstantiation in the Eucharistic elements; on the ground that such conversion is repugnant to the Word of

¹ This intention is clearly established by the testimony of the *Reformatio Legum*. In speaking of the 'heresies' then current, it observes: 'Magna quoque temeritas illorum est, qui sacramenta sic extenuant, ut ea pro nudis signis, et externis tantum indiciis capi velint, quibus tanquam notis hominum Christianorum religio possit a cæteris internosci, nec animadvertunt quantum sit scelus, hæc sancta Dei instituta inania et vacua credere.' *Ibid.* c. 17. Bp. Ridley, in like manner, says (*Works*, p. 114) that 'in all ages the devil hath stirred up some light heads to esteem the sacraments but lightly, as to be empty and bare signs.' Cf. Bp. Latimer's *Remains*, p. 252, ed. P. S.; where the disparaging of sacraments is treated as a proof of Anabaptism.

² The *Reformatio Legum* also speaks of Anabaptists, who separated from the Lord's Table on the plea that they were deterred, 'vel ministrorum improbitate, vel aliorum fratrum,' c. 15. Cf. Alley, *Poore Mans Librarie*, i. 242 b.

³ See *Reform Leg.* c. 18, 'de Baptismo,' where we have also a glimpse of errors rising from an opposite (Mediæval) quarter. One of these attributed the benefit of baptism to a quasi-physical union of the Holy Spirit with the element of water, illustrating the probable origin of scruples felt by the extreme Reformers with regard to the expression 'conferre gratiam' (above, pp. 94, 95).

God, and inconsistent with belief in the humanity of the Saviour and His local residence in heaven.¹

The thirtieth of our series, like the third article in the Second Part of the Angsburg Formulary, urges the uniqueness and completeness of the sacrifice which Christ our blessed Lord has offered on the cross—in answer to a current form of misbelief with reference to the *repetition* of that offering in ‘the sacrifices of masses.’

The thirty-first article is levelled at a Mediæval error which esteemed the marriage of the clergy absolutely sinful.²

The thirty-second and thirty-third relate to the internal discipline and usages of the Church—a class of topics which excited the most vehement disputation in the reign of Edward VI.³ The first denounces excommunicated persons as unfit for the society of Christians; while the second rules that ‘church-traditions’—ceremonies, rites, and customs—ought not to be violated at the impulse of man’s ‘private judgment.’ It is also worthy of remark that nearly all the language of the second of these laws is borrowed from the fifth of the Thirteen Articles of 1538.

The thirty-fourth simply authorises the use of the First Book of Homilies, which had been circulating with the royal sanction since the year 1547.

The thirty-fifth, in like manner, authorises and commends the Ordinal and Prayer-Book previously put forth ‘by the king and the parliament,’ in 1550 and 1552.

The thirty-sixth, ‘Of Civil Magistrates,’ is levelled partly at the Romanizing faction who continued to assert the supremacy of the pope,⁴ and partly at the Anabaptist zealots, who impugned the jurisdiction of the civil magistracy and the lawfulness of war.⁵

The thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth have reference to the same disorderly spirits; one condemning their idea of a community of goods, the others combating their scruples on the subject of taking oaths.⁶

¹ Cf. *Reform. Leg. Ibid.* c. 19.

² Cf. the third of the ‘Six Articles’ (above, p. 59, n. 3).

³ See above, p. 91.

⁴ *Reform. Leg. Ibid.* c. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.* c. 13. See above, p. 86.

⁶ *Reform. Legum*, c. 14, and c. 15.

The four remaining articles, of which three were borrowed from the Augsburg Confession, are condemnatory of four other notions inculcated in the reign of Edward by the Anabaptist zealots.¹ One determines, that the resurrection of the dead will be extended to the body, and has therefore not been realized already in the quickening of the pious soul. The second, that the spirit does not perish with the body, and retains its former consciousness and personality in a state of separation; the third that the heretical fable of the 'Millenarii' is repugnant to the Word of God; the fourth, that to believe in the eventual restoration of all men is a dangerous and destructive error.

Having thus exhibited the bearing of the XLII. Articles upon the circumstances of the times in which they were constructed, it remains for us to ascertain the nature and amount of the *authority* by which they might originally challenge the adhesion of the English Church. In doing this, we open an inquiry which is answered very differently by the historians of the Reformation-period:

Were the Articles of 1553 submitted to the English Convocation? Or were they circulated during the brief remainder of the reign of Edward on the sole authority of the royal council?

As the latter view is urged by several writers, whose opinions, on all subjects of this nature,² are entitled to respect and deference, it may justly claim from us a candid and minute examination. They are found to rest their inference mainly on the fact that registers of the southern Convocation, which was summoned for March 19, '1552,'³ (in modern language 1553,) contained no mention whatever of the Articles; being, we are told expressly, 'but one degree above blanks,' and 'scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein.'⁴

¹ See above, p. 86; and compare *Reform. Leg.* Ibid. c. 12.

² Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, I. 388, 3rd ed.; Burnet, *Reform.* III. 361 sqq.; Lamb, *Historical Account of the XXXIX. Articles*, pp. 4, 5.

³ Wake, *State of the Church*, p. 598; yet he adds in the next page that the Convocation actually met on the 2nd (? 22nd) of March.

⁴ This is the statement of Fuller (*Church Hist.* pp. 420, 421, fol. ed.), who had the opportunity of examining the records before the

So long, however, as the absence of this public testimony is explainable either on the supposition of carelessness in the time of Edward, or of some deliberate mutilation in the following reign, it will not lead to any clear presumption that the Articles were destitute of all synodical authority. The Convocation *may* have been 'barren,' (to use Fuller's phraseology), because its proceedings were either unreported, or were subsequently destroyed; and therefore we demur to follow him at once in drawing his conclusion that the synod received 'no commission from the king to meddle with Church-business.'

But it is contended, in the second place, that the original title of the Articles of 1553 itself betrays a want of due ecclesiastical sanction. They are merely said to have been agreed on 'by the bishops and *other learned men*, in the synod at London' ('inter episcopos et *alios eruditos viros*').¹ whereas, in the subsequent promulgation of them in 1563,

great fire; and Heylin (i. 256) so far agrees with him, remarking that 'the acts of this Convocation were so ill kept, that there remains nothing on record touching their proceedings, except it be names of such of the bishops as came thither to adjourn the house.' A like uncertainty hangs over the proceedings of the Convocation of the previous year, 1552; and yet from the expressions in the Preamble of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. (1552) c. 12—'the learned clergy of this realm, who have determined the same [marriage of priests] to be most lawful by the law of God in their Convocation, as well by their common consent as by the subscription of their hands'—we are almost authorised to infer that a declaration like the 31st of the XLII. Articles had been already sanctioned and subscribed. Does this allusion mean that the Articles had been already considered and passed in Convocation as early as the spring of 1552? Cf. above, pp. 73, 74.

¹ Heylin has struck out a theory by which this language is readily explained, but the theory is itself of course entirely conjectural; unless indeed he was alluding to the commission for framing the *Reformatio Legum* in 1551. He thinks that the lower house of the Convocation of Canterbury, to whom the Articles were submitted, 'had devolved their power on some grand committee, sufficiently authorized to debate, conclude, and publish what they had concluded in the name of the rest:' i. 257.

A somewhat kindred solution has been proposed by Dr. Cardwell, who, while admitting the synodical authority of these Articles, supposes that the sanction of the upper house was given, if not directly, at least by delegation; and that this sanction was considered to involve the ratification of the whole synod. *Synod* i. 4, 5.

they are described as 'agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the *whole clergy*,' etc.

The apparent vagueness of the former statement is, however, not without its parallel in contemporary records of the Church; and that, in cases where no doubt can possibly exist as to the convocational authority of documents to which such language is applied.¹ The argument derived from this consideration must be therefore deemed as inconclusive as the one adverted to above.

A third and far more cogent reason for disputing the synodical approbation of the Articles is furnished by the language of Cranmer and Philpot, when questioned on this very subject at the opening of the reign of Mary.

It has been already noticed, that when the Articles were completed in the spring of 1553, they were made public in a separate form and also in the company of a certain 'Catechism.' Now, in reference to this second work, complaints were made by Weston, the prolocutor of the southern Convocation, which assembled in the following autumn, to the effect that 'it bore the name of the honourable synod, although, as he understood, *put forth without their consent*.'² Philpot,³ who was present as archdeacon of Winchester, explained at some length in what way 'it might be well said to be done in the Synod of London,' although the members of the present house 'had no notice thereof before the promulgation.' He seems to have imagined that when the clergy authorised certain persons to make ecclesiastical laws,⁴ they had transferred their own

¹ See above, pp. 40, 41: and compare an able article in the *British Critic* for 1829 (vi. 84), attributed to Dr. Corrie, now Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.

² In the violent sermon of Brokis (Brooks), Marian bishop of Gloucester, which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, Nov. 12, 1553, we have a repetition of this charge: 'Was there not,' he asks, 'one perilous, pernicious, pestilente *Cathechisme* among other things set fourth of late, with a commaundement to bee readde in al Grammare scholes through out the whole realme. And that also set furth as allowed by the clergy in *Synod. Londi*. wheras the Conuocation without all doubte (*for the lower house at leaste*) was neuer made priuie thereunto:' sign. D. vii.

³ Fox, p. 1410. The date was Oct. 20.

⁴ He must have been alluding to the Commission appointed in 1551 to draw up the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

synodic rights to this committee. But Cranmer in his 'Disputation at Oxford,' in April, 1554, appears to have supplied a somewhat different, if not contradictory, solution. When charged by Weston with publishing 'a Catechism in the name of the synod of London,' he answered: 'I was ignorant of the *setting to of that title*; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it; therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth *in the time of the Convocation.*' Both these testimonies sanction the hypothesis that the *Catechism* in question had never been regularly submitted to a synod of the southern province, much less approved and authorised by the two houses: and therefore, if the *Articles* are necessarily implicated in the disclaimers here adduced, we are compelled to acquiesce in the idea that they also had been put in circulation by the royal Council, with no formal approbation of the Church at large.

But, on the other hand, it may be argued that the *Catechism* alone was comprehended in the terms of Weston's censure. The *Articles* of 1553 had formed, as we have seen, an independent publication;² and although they were associated in some early copies with a more extensive work, there is no adequate reason for concluding that they were originally viewed by friend or enemy as a mere appendage to it.³ While it is declared to have been put forth 'by *certain* bishops and other learned men,'⁴ *they*

¹ Cranmer's *Works*, iv. 64, 65.

² See above, p. 75.

³ See Bp. Maddox, *Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 309, ed. 1733. The only instance where the two works *seem* to be actually united is found in the language of Cranmer above quoted, p. 72, n. 5; but this does not necessarily imply more than their publication in the same volume, which, as we have seen, was not unusual.

⁴ See the Royal Injunction prefixed to the *Catechism of Edw. VI.* (ed. P. S.). The date is '20 Maii, anno regni 7' (i.e. 1553). It is probable that Weston alluded to this expression when he spoke of the *Catechism* as claiming to have been set forth by *Convocation*: for there is no statement of that kind in the work itself, although Mr. Lathbury (pp. 145, 146) affirms that it was so sanctioned in 1552. The writer in the *British Critic* for 1829 (vi. 85, 86), to whom this part of our inquiry is much indebted, has shown cause for suspecting that the *Catechism* censured in the reign of Mary was *not* the one

claim to be the work of 'the bishops,' and to have been agreed upon by the Church assembled in Convocation. And in further proof of the distinctness of these two contemporary documents, it is remarkable that notwithstanding all the animadversions¹ which the Catechism excited in the following reign, the *Articles* are never once attacked by name in the surviving records, on the ground that they were published surreptitiously, so that the assailant of the former work appears to have acknowledged the ecclesiastical authority which *they* repeatedly assumed. We may, accordingly, conclude in this as in the other cases, that no adequate reasons have been urged for disbelieving or denying the synodic approbation of the latter Formulary of Faith.

But there is other and more *positive* proof that it was brought before the southern Convocation in the spring of 1553, and, if not actually debated in that body, was at least to some extent accepted and subscribed.

The wording of the title in all extant copies of the *Articles* expressly mentions their ratification 'in the last synod of London.' They are publicly recited as possessing such authority on their subsequent revival and enactment in the Convocation of 1563,² and it appears almost incredible that these assumptions should have been allowed to pass unchallenged, more especially by prelates like archbishop Parker, in a critical synod, if the document had not been really invested with the sanction which it claims.

usually called the *Catechism of Edw. VI.*, but some other book with which we are now unacquainted. Still the evidence seems to preponderate in favour of the identification. It is not very improbable that such a manual was printed in September 1552, and that a royal injunction to schoolmasters was prefixed to a *subsequent* edition in the spring of 1553. Strype thinks that the injunction for printing it was *suspended* in order that opportunity might be given for submitting it to Convocation at the next meeting.

¹ Instances are given above, pp. 107, 108. A third is supplied by the account of Bp. Ridley's 'Examination' (Fox, p. 1449), who distinctly disclaimed the authorship of the *Catechism*, but admitted with regard to the *Articles*, 'They were set out, I both willing and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same.'

² *Reg. Convocat.* in Bennet, *Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 167: 'Ulterius proposuit (i.e. the Prolocutor) quod *Articuli in Synodo Londoniensi tempore nuper regis, Edw. VI^{ti}.* (ut asseruit) editi,' etc.

Our faith in the veracity of such language is still further strengthened by an interesting communication from the visitors to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge¹ (June 1, 1553), in which they speak of the Articles as having been just before prepared by good and learned men, and agreed upon *in the synod of London*: and also by a second contemporary letter² from Sir John Cheke to Bullinger (June 7, 1553), where he informs his correspondent that the *Articles of the synod of London* were then published by royal mandate.

Some additional evidence, tending to establish the convocational authority of these Edwardine Articles, we gather out of the memorials of a controversy on the subject of clerical vestments³ in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. When certain ministers of London disputed the 'tradition' of the Church, and thus infringed the Article enacted for securing the agreement of the clergy on this and other kindred questions, it was urged against them by an advocate of order,⁴ that many of their party had actually subscribed

¹ 'Cum antea in reintegranda religione multum denique regis Majestatis auctoritate et bonorum atque eruditorum virorum iudiciis sit elaboratum, et de *Articulis quibusdam in synodo Londoniensi*, A. D. 1553, ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, conclusum, equissimum iudicavimus eisdem regia auctoritate promulgatos et omnibus episcopis ad meliorem dioceseos sue administrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare et visitationis nostrae auctoritate præcipere etc.' From a MS. in C. C. C., Cambridge, quoted by Dr. Lamb, *Historical Account*, pp. 4, 5, note. This Convocation is placed in the year 1553, because it continued until April 1. It assembled in the month preceding, and therefore in what was (according to ecclesiastical computation) the year 1552.

² *Original Letters*, ed. P. S. p. 142.

³ *An Answer for the Time*, printed in 1566, with other Tracts on the same question. It seems to have first arrested the attention of archbishop Wake (*State of the Church*, pp. 599, 600). A copy is in the Cambridge University Library, marked G. 6, 84.

⁴ Pp. 151—153. The 'Examiner' appeals to 'the determination of this Church in England, both agreed vpon in Kyng Edwardes dayes, and also testified and subscribed by themselves, who nowe woulde gaynsay their owne doynge then.' He adds, 'The wordes which the whole sinode were well pleased withall and whereunto all the cleargies handes are set to be these,' (quoting the 33rd of the XLII. Articles). The remark of the *Answerer* is as follows: 'The Articles of the sinode haue such conditions annexed to them, that wee nede not feare to subscribe to them againe,' etc.

the Edwardine Formulary in the Convocation of 1553, and were accordingly bent on violating their own pledge by 'breaking the traditions and ceremonies of the Church.' The answer of the Puritan makes no attempt to throw discredit on this statement. He concedes that many of the disaffected clergy set their hands to the 33rd of the XLII. Articles in common with the rest, but argued that they did so, with the reservation that nothing was or ought to be commanded by the Church in contradiction to the Word of God.

Such, then, being the most natural inference on this subject, it becomes desirable to indicate the process which had been *most probably* adopted in the composition and ratification of the Edwardine Articles. An early draft of them appears to have been made by Cranmer as far back as 1549. This document he used on his own authority, or in conjunction with the royal council, in the course of 1550. In the following year, we find the same series of Articles, or one suggested by it, in circulation among other prelates, and the substance of it pressed by Hooper on his clergy in the shape of a religious test. On the 2nd of May, 1552, the council ask of the Archbishop whether Articles have 'been set forth by any *public authority*;' and this question naturally suggests the thought that some intention then existed of submitting the new formulary to the southern Convocation, which had been but recently prorogued (April 16).¹ That such intention was then executed we have no means of proving; but there is no doubt that, in the interval which elapsed from this inquiry of the council to the autumn of the same year, the Formulary had been passed from hand to hand and made to undergo still further modification. We lose sight of it upon the 24th of November, 1552, when a copy was remitted to the royal council. In their custody it seems to have continued till the meeting of the southern Convocation in the March of 1553. If *discussed* at this time either in one or both houses, the debate must have been speedily concluded; for on the 1st day of the following month the synod was itself dissolved, and royal orders for the printing of the

¹ Wake, *State of the Church*, p. 598: cf. above, p. 105, n. 4.

Articles appeared on the 20th of May.¹ They would thus have been 'prepared by the authority of the king and council, agreed to in Convocation, and there subscribed by both houses; and so presently promulgated by the King's authority, according to law.'²

But this, like other fruits which had been ripening in the reign of Edward, was soon after to be crushed and buried in the midst of tempests and revulsions, which accompanied his untimely death. The youthful monarch breathed his last, on the sixth of July, 1553; and, strange to say, the Convocation which assembled on the 6th of October was either 'so packed or so compliant,' that only six members of the lower house³ stood forward to repudiate the notion of a physical presence in the Eucharist, or scrupled to take part in a denunciation of the 'Catechism' adverted to above. In the ensuing year a large proportion of the English people were formally 'reconciled' to the communion of the Roman pontiff; Cardinal Pole,⁴ as the *legatus à latere*, presiding in the southern Convocation, and administering the papal absolution. An impetuous vigour was now manifest in all proceedings of the counter-reformation party; and the objects first selected by the Marian prelates for emphatic censure were the 'pestilent books of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury.'⁵ It is true that, in the actual enumeration of public Formularies of Faith which were indebted so extensively to Cranmer, his accusers make no special mention of the XLII. Articles; but these are doubtless to be reckoned in the list of 'other books as well in Latin as in English, concerning heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrine.'

¹ This view of their history and ultimate ratification in the synod, generally accords with the able Article in the *British Critic*, alluded to above.

² Wake, p. 600.

³ Wilkins, iv. 88.

⁴ In his Decree on the Reformation of England, dated Feb. 10, 1556, he lays it down as his future object, 'ut in hoc legationis munere perseveremus, ut ea, quæ jam in ejusdem unitatis negotio confecta erant, magis stabilirentur, utque ecclesia hæc Anglicana, quæ ob præteriti schismatis calamitatem in doctrina et moribus valde deformata esset, ad veterum patrum et sacrorum canonum normam reformaretur.' Le Plat, *Monument*. iv. 571.

⁵ Wilkins, iv. 96: cf. the 'Proclamation for the restraining of all books and writings against the Pope,' etc. *Ibid.* pp. 128, 129.

And although the Articles were never formally abolished, it would seem, in this or any future Convocation, their effect was altogether counteracted by the new ascendancy of Gardiner and others of the Romanizing school. An instance of the virtual suppression of our document is furnished by a series of Articles¹ (fifteen in number,) which were forwarded on the 1st of April, 1555, to the University of Cambridge. Gardiner himself was chancellor, and therefore added an injunction that no one should in future be allowed to graduate or live in peace at Cambridge till he vindicated his orthodoxy by subscribing the new test. And in the closing year of Mary's reign, the zeal of the southern Convocation was conspicuously embodied in a series of dogmatic definitions, which have been described as 'the last of the kind that were ever presented in England by a legal corporation in defence of the popish religion.'²

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 127, 128. On the subscriptions of members of the Senate, see Lamb, *Documents*, pp. 172 sq. Lond. 1838. It is remarkable that in the Injunctions of Pole for the diocese of Gloucester, the clergy are ordered, 'when there is no sermon, to read some portion of the *Necessary Doctrine*, until such time 'as Homelies by th' authoritie of the synode shall be made and published for the same intent and purpose.' *Ibid.* pp. 146, 148. A small catechism in English and Latin was also in contemplation. (*Ibid.* p. 156.) To which may be added a translation of the New Testament, ordered by the legatine synod. *Ibid.* p. 132.

² Fuller, *Church History*, Book ix. p. 55. The first three are affirmations on the nature of the Eucharist, the fourth on the papal supremacy, and the fifth on the propriety of committing ecclesiastical judgments to the pastors of the Church, instead of leaving them in the hands of laymen. Wilkins, iv. 179, 180.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ELIZABETHAN ARTICLES.

THE proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, on the 17th of November, 1558, was one of the most memorable epochs in the annals of the English Church. Her long and prosperous reign enabled her to regulate and carry on the work which had been started by her predecessors, and especially to heal the numerous breaches it had suffered at the hands of her sister Mary.

Yet the calm and almost calculating spirit, that was manifested in her early measures on the subject of religion, did not satisfy the crowd of ardent exiles, whom the news of her accession instantly emboldened to revisit their native shores.¹ The pulpits were at first all silenced by a royal order.² The service of the Church was still used in Latin,³ with the sole exception of the 'Gospel and Epistle' and 'the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue.' A slight majority⁴ also of the royal council, as now constituted by the Queen herself, was favourable to the 'old learning,' while her general demeanour indicated a desire to carry with her the affections of the country, by restraining every form of partizanship and allaying the more hot and ardent spirits on the right hand and the left. Thus, Bacon, the lord-keeper,⁵ stated to the Parliament on the authority of

¹ Their dissatisfaction is well illustrated by the Letters of Bp. Jewel, written at this period to some of his foreign friends.

² Dec. 27, 1558: Wilkins, iv. 180.

³ This practice continued till June 24, 1559, except in the case of the Litany, which was said in English on the 1st of January preceding.

⁴ Turner, *Hist. of England*, III. 507 (note).

⁵ D'Ewes' *Journals of Parliament*, p. 19. In like manner, it was ordered in the Queen's *Injunctions* of 1559, § 50, that her subjects should 'forbear all vain and contentious disputations in matters of religion, and not use, in despite or rebuke of any person, these convitious words, Papist or Papistical Heretick, Schismatick, or Sacramentary, or any such like words of reproach.'

his royal mistress, 'that no party-language was to be kept up in this kingdom, that the names of heretic, schismatic, papist and such like, were to be laid aside and forgotten: that on the one side there must be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition, and on the other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation as to occasion indifferency in religion and contempt of holy things.'

But much as this repressive policy was calculated to perplex the chiefs of the reforming party, it was really no proof of terror, vacillation, or indifference in the spirit of the Queen herself. Amid the pomp and splendours of the coronation, she had firmly purposed to attempt the restoration of public worship to the state in which it had been celebrated in the time of Edward; and the crowd of perils she was going to encounter by this step, when pointed out by Cecil,¹ only deepened her determination and invigorated all her measures.

An early instance of discernment in the choice of her advisers, and indeed the brightest omen of her ultimate success, was the appointment of Matthew Parker to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

By nature and by education, by the ripeness of his learning, the sobriety of his judgment, and the incorruptness of his private life, he had been eminently fitted for the task of ruling in the Church of England through a stormy period of her history; and, though seldom able to reduce conflicting elements of thought and feeling into active harmony, the vessel he was called to pilot has been saved, almost entirely by his skill, from breaking on the rock of Mediæval superstitions, or else drifting far away into the whirlpool of licentiousness and unbelief.² Like Cranmer, his great predecessor, whom he valued so highly that he

¹ See the statement in Burnet, v. 450—454.

² 'These times,' he writes, 'are troublesome. The Church is sore assaulted; but not so much of open enemies, who can less hurt, as of pretended favourers and false brethren, who, under cover of reformation, seek the ruin and subversion both of learning and religion.' Parker's *Correspond.* p. 434, ed. P. S. In writing to Cecil (Nov. 6, 1559,) he prays that God may preserve the Church of England from such a visitation as Knox had attempted in Scotland, 'the people' being 'orderers of things.' *Ibid.* p. 105: cf. Hardwick's *Reform.* pp. 226, 227.

'wolde as moche rejoyce to wynne' some of the lost writings of that prelate as he 'wolde to restore an old chancel to reparation,'¹—he was intimately acquainted with the records of the ancient Church, and uniformly based his vindication of our own upon its cordial adherence to the primitive faith and to the practice of the purest ages. 'His great skill in antiquity' (to quote the language of his biographer)² 'reached to ecclesiastical matters as well as historical; whereby he became acquainted with the ancient liturgies and doctrines of the Christian Church in former times. He utterly disliked, therefore, the public offices of the present Roman Church, because they varied so much from the ancient.' 'Pray behold and see' writes Parker, on addressing the ejected bishops (March 26, 1560), 'how we of the Church of England, reformed by our late king Edward and his clergy, and now by her Majesty and hers reviving the same, have but imitated and followed the example of the ancient and worthy fathers.'³ And in his last will he has declared:⁴ 'I profess that I do certainly believe and hold whatsoever the holy Catholic Church believeth and receiveth in any Articles whatsoever, pertaining to faith, hope and charity, in the whole sacred Scripture.'

It is under the auspices of such a primate that we now resume the history of our Articles of Religion, tracing them by gradual stages out of the obscurity to which they were consigned on the death of Edward, and noting down the principal modifications they experienced during the rest of the Elizabethan period.

As the Formulary of 1553 had probably passed both houses of the southern Convocation, and remained (so far as we can judge) uncanceled in the time of Mary, it might easily have been at once propounded to the clergy for adoption and subscription. Yet no movement of this kind

¹ Parker to Cecil, Aug. 22, 1563; in Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, No. xc. He elsewhere speaks in precisely the same tone of literature in general: 'Certainly the colleges and all the religious houses were plundered before it was considered what great inconvenience would arise to the Church of Christ by this clandestine dispersion and loss of books.' *Zurich Letters*, II. 80.

² Strype, *Parker*, p. 530.

³ Parker's *Correspond.* p. 111, ed. P. S.

⁴ Strype, *Parker*, p. 500, and Appendix, No. c.

appears to have been contemplated at the opening of the new reign, nor even for some period after the general restoration of the Prayer-Book. The Articles in truth were kept almost entirely in the background,¹ till submitted for discussion in the Convocation of 1563; nor, after they had been considerably remodelled in that Synod, was *subscription* to them regularly enforced until some further Acts of Parliament and Convocation in 1571.²

It seems, however, that throughout the interval which elapsed from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the latter

¹ They are referred to, however, now and then, as in the following passage of a document presented to the Queen in 1559, by some of the refugees, in answer to the charge that 'their doctrine was nothing but heresy, and they a company of sectaries and schismatics.' They begin by stating: 'Although in this our Declaration and Confession we do not precisely observe the words, sentence, and orders of certain godly Articles by authority set forth in the time of King Edward of most famous memory . . . yet in altering, augmenting or diminishing, adding or omitting, we do neither improve [i.e., call in question—'improbare'], nor yet recede from any of the said Articles, but fully consent unto the whole, as to a most true and sound doctrine grounded upon God's Word, and do refer ourselves unto such Articles there as in our Confession, for shortness' sake, we have omitted.' Strype, *Annals of Reform.* i. 115, ed. 1725; who gives one or two specimens of 'the Confession, and adds (p. 116) that 'on the back-side of this Paper are writ these words by Grindal's hand (as it seems) *Articuli Subscripti anno primo Reginæ nunc.*' The whole may be seen in a MS. belonging to C. C. C. Cambridge (cxxi. § 20); and as the authors of it allude to the public disputation at Westminster which began on the last day of March, 1559, the document was drawn up after that date. From a letter of Sandys to Parker (April 30, 1559), we gather that the authors of it, anxious to stop 'the vain bruits of the lying Papists, designed to publish their work so soon as the Parliament was ended.' Some points in which it varied from the Edwardine Articles are worthy of notice. The article on Predestination (§ 3) is much fuller. That on Justification is almost entirely new. The article on the Eucharist (§ 14) does 'not denye all maner of presence of Christes bodye and bloude,' and affirms that 'to the beleuer and worthie receyuer is verily given and exhibited whole Christ, God and man, with the fruites of His passion.' While prefixed to the article on the civil magistrate is an earnest disavowal of sympathy with Knox's work on the *Regiment of Women.*

² Wilkins, iv. 275, 'de Cancellariis,' etc.: cf. *English Review*, III. 165 sqq., where it is shown that occasional instances had occurred in the meantime, where persons suspected of heterodoxy were called upon to subscribe as equivalent to recantation.

date, the bishops were provided with another independent test of doctrine, which we here entitle, for the sake of distinctness, the 'Eleven Articles of Religion.' It was compiled in 1559 or early in 1560, under the eye of archbishop Parker,¹ with the sanction of the northern metropolitan and other English prelates; and of it the clergy were required to make a public profession,² not only on admission to their benefices, but twice also every year, immediately after the Gospel for the day. It was designed to further 'uniformity of doctrine,' and appointed to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as 'well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers of the Church for diversity of judgment, as necessary for the instruction of their people.'³

According to Collier's description⁴ the Eleven Articles were 'drawn upon a *very near resemblance* with those published in 1552 (*i.e.* 1553);' but while conceding that there is a germ of truth in this assertion, with respect to the main spirit of the Articles, a brief examination of the document itself will demonstrate how widely it has varied both in form and matter from the previous models. It delibe-

¹ Strype, *Annals*, i. 220.

² Hooper seems to have considered this kind of acquiescence far more stringent than subscription: 'Subscribing privately in the paper I perceive little availeth. For notwithstanding that, they speak as evil of good faith as ever they did before they subscribed.' Strype's *Cranmer*, App. XLVII.

³ Wilkins, iv. 195 sqq. This document is reprinted below: Appendix, No. iv. It was first published by Richard Juge (the Queen's Printer) in 1561, and is said to exist in MS. among the treasures of C. C. C. Cambridge, although the present writer has searched for it in vain.

⁴ *Ch. Hist.* ii. 463. A closer affinity exists between the Edwardine Formulary and a Latin series of XXIV. Articles, characterised by Strype as *The Articles of the Principal Heads of Religion prescribed to Ministers*: *Annals* i. 216, 217. They seem to have been drawn up by the Archbishop and his friends, along with the XI. Articles in the year 1559 (*Ibid* p. 215), but, whether from motives of prudence or from inability to gain the sanction of the Crown, they were not circulated among the clergy. They are, however, most important as contemporary illustrations of the XXXIX. Articles, and as such will be employed for that purpose in the *Notes and Illustrations* appended to the present volume.

rately avoids all mention of the numerous speculative topics which were agitating both our own and foreign communities.

The *first* article is almost verbally derived from the first of the XLII. Articles, laying down the necessity of a belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in Unity. The *second* recognises the sufficiency of Scripture for establishing the truths of the Gospel, and also for the confutation of 'all errors and heresies;' while the three great catholic Creeds are pointed out as summaries of the principal articles of our faith. The *third* acknowledges 'that Church to be the Spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used:' adding, with the 33rd of the older Articles, that every national Church has power to modify its ritual institutions. The *fourth* excludes from any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, all persons who have not been lawfully thereunto called by 'the high authorities.' The *fifth* insists upon the doctrine of the royal supremacy, as expressed in 'the late act of parliament,' and as expounded in her Majesty's 'Injunctions.' The *sixth* repudiates the papal monarchy, on the ground that such a notion is at variance with Holy Scripture and the example of the Primitive Church. The *seventh* acknowledges the English Prayer-Book to be 'agreeable to the Scriptures,' and 'catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God's glory.' The *eighth* declares that exorcism, oil, etc., do not pertain to the substance of the sacrament of baptism, and that they have been reasonably abolished. The *ninth* denies that 'private masses' were used amongst the fathers of the Primitive Church; and then proceeds to censure the idea that 'the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice' for quick and dead, and 'a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory,' urging that such a tenet is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance nor grounded upon 'doctrine apostolic.' The *tenth* maintains the right of all the faithful to communion in both kinds; and, reasoning from the language of our Saviour's institution and the practice of the ancient 'doctors of the Church,' denounces the withholding of the 'mystical cup,' as 'plain sacrilege.' The *eleventh* disallows

the extolling of images, relics, feigned miracles, and other superstitions, on the ground that they 'have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions,' and exhorts all men on the contrary to diligent cultivation of good works.

It is nowhere stated that this Formulary had been recognized, or put in circulation by Elizabeth and her council; nor, as Convocation did not actually meet until the opening of the year 1563, are we at liberty to claim for it the regular sanction of the church-authorities, except so far as the approval of the bishops carried with it the concurrence of the other clergy. Issuing, as that Formulary did, however, from the royal press, and strengthened, as it was, in its demands on all incumbents by a series of episcopal injunctions, it may fairly be regarded as a public manifesto, or, at least, as an authentic record of the teaching of the English prelates in the interval between the date of its publication and the re-enactment of the longer Articles in the next Convocation.

As late as 1566 the Eleven Articles were actually prescribed *verbatim* to the Church of Ireland, 'by order and authority as well of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, General Deputy, as by the Archbishops and Bishops, and other her Majesty's High Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical in the same realm,'¹ and thus, with the exception of the Irish Prayer-Book, constituted the sole formulary of the sister-Church, until² her own peculiar 'Articles of Religion' were put forward by the Convocation of Dublin, in 1615.

It is plain, however, that in reference to this country, the Eleven Articles had been intended as no more than a provisional test of orthodoxy, which in practice would be commonly superseded³ when the great Elizabethan

¹ This document was printed at Dublin, by Humfrey Powel, Jan. 20, 1566, and may be seen at length in Dr. Elrington's *Life of Ussher*: App. pp. xxiii. xxix.

² The English Articles of 1563 are said, however, to have been subscribed in the meantime by Irish clergymen, at least in some few cases (Mant, i. 382, 2nd ed.); but compare Elrington's *Ussher*, ubi sup. pp. 42, 43.

³ Among the 'Ordinances' of Archbishop Parker in 1564, is one

Articles passed the synod of 1563 and were enjoined on all the English clergy by the canons of 1571.

To the production, therefore, of these Articles our thoughts are now especially directed.

There is ample reason for believing that while 'many popishly-affected priests still kept their hold by their outward compliances,'¹ the great majority of English people, in all ranks and orders, cordially accepted the important changes which had flowed from the accession of Elizabeth and the appointment of archbishop Parker. The labours of a royal commission, which had been deputed in 1559 to visit all the English dioceses, had contributed in no small measure to secure this object, partly by confirming waverers, and partly by imposing silence on 'recusants,' who might either question the supremacy of the Queen, or vilify the English Prayer-Book. Jewel, who himself was one of the most zealous members of this deputation, has narrated their proceedings at some length in writing to Peter Martyr,²

relating to this Formulary, which was regarded by him as an authority *co-ordinate* with the Articles of 1563; for, after enjoining the clergy to read the Book of Articles, 'without notinge or expoundinge, as theye be sett owte in the English Tounge, twyse in the yere,' he adds, 'That theye reade also the *Declaration* for the unitye of Doctrine sett owte for the same purpose. Strype, *Parker*, App. xxviii. p. 48. An allusion was probably made to the XI. Articles in the following extract from a dispute between the fellows and the provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1565. They allege that when he was 'personn of St. Andrewes in London, besides other defaultes and just causes of his deprivation, he was removed by the bisshop of London, for refusing to read the *generall confession* for the renouncinge of the pope and his doctrine.' *Ancient Laws for King's College*, etc., ed. Heywood, p. 210.

¹ Strype, *Parker*, p. 91, ed. 1711. The number of the clergy in possession who refused to recognise the English Prayer-Book, on its restoration by Elizabeth, was one hundred and eighty-nine. *Annals*, I. 171, 172. It was not indeed till 1571 or 1572 that a reaction in favour of the 'old learning' excited much alarm in men like Parker. Writing in the latter year, he attributes the change in feeling, among other causes, to the exasperation produced in men's minds 'by the disordered preachings and writings of some *Puritans*, who will never be at a point:' *Correspond.* p. 392, ed. P. S.

² *Works*, VIII. 128—130, ed. Jelf. The whole letter is curious and instructive, and should be compared with a letter of the Earl of Sussex to Cecil on the state of Ireland (July 22, 1562): *Original Letters* (relating to the Irish Reformation), pp. 117, 118, ed. Shirley.

November 2, 1559: 'Everywhere,' he says, 'we found the minds of the multitude sufficiently alive to religion, and that even where all things were supposed to be most difficult and disheartening. Still it is incredible what a harvest, or rather, what a wilderness of superstition had shot forth again during the darkness of the Marian period The cathedrals were no better than dens of thieves. . . . If we had to encounter obstinacy and malice in any quarters, it was entirely among the priests, and especially those who had once been of our own way of thinking. I suppose they are now disturbing all things in order that they may not seem to have changed their minds without sufficient consideration. But let them create as much confusion as they like: we have in the meantime ejected them ('conturbavimus') out of their priestly office.'

Partly as the fruit of these repressive measures, but still more of the increasing bias of the Church at large in favour of the Reformation, they who acted as her representatives, on the convening of the first Elizabethan synod, were unanimous in their hostility to errors and abuses which had been resuscitated in the previous reign. How much soever they might disagree in their appreciation of particular dogmas,—some disliking all 'Germanical natures' and adhering scrupulously to patristic modes of thought and feeling; others tinctured by their sojourn on the continent with the peculiar prejudices of the Swiss divines,—they all were, notwithstanding, actuated by a wish to forward and consolidate the Reformation as distinguished from the Mediæval system which it was striving to replace.

The royal writ which summoned the two Convocations of Canterbury and York to meet for the despatch of business on the 12th of Jan. 1562 (*i.e.* 1563), was dated on the 11th of the previous November.¹ In this interval, and probably

¹ It is well to remember that the Council of Trent was sitting at the same time: see above, p. 82, n. 3. After promulgating a decree on the 'sacrifice of the mass' (Sept. 17, 1562), a vehement contest was being waged between the Italian bishops on one side, and the French and Spanish on the other, touching the extent of the papal jurisdiction, or rather the Divine appointment of episcopacy: *Sarpi*, II. 261 sq. The same spirit of national independence, manifested by French prelates on this occasion, had been witnessed under a different aspect in the autumn of 1561, at the 'Colloquy of Poissy,' where

for some time before, archbishop Parker had been sedulously engaged in modifying the XLII. Articles of 1553; with the intention of submitting them to the next synod as the basis of a Formulary of Faith to be considered by that body. He was aided in his delicate task by several of his brother-prelates, especially by bishop Cox of Ely, and still more perhaps by Guest of Rochester, who had already taken a most active part¹ in the revision of the Prayer-Book. They adopted as the basis of revision the *Latin* Articles of 1553; and it is interesting to find that one result of this preliminary criticism has been preserved among the Parker manuscripts² surviving in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. We are thus enabled to describe the various changes which the present Articles have undergone with more of fulness and exactness than was possible in tracing the formation of the kindred documents discussed in previous chapters.

Now in estimating the main spirit of the changes introduced at this revision, it is most important to observe that Parker and his friends, instead of drawing hints from 'Swiss' Confessions, which were high in favour with the Marian exiles, had recourse to a series of Articles of 'Saxon' origin, particularly distinguished by the moderation of their tone. We find, indeed, that very soon after the accession of Elizabeth one considerable party of Reformers in this country was desirous of reverting to the ground which had been occupied at first by the compilers of the Augsburg Confession.³ Guided by their counsels,

attempts were made to conciliate the Huguenots by means of a species of national synod, and without invoking the aid of the Roman pontiff. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. CLVII. s. 1—27; Bossuet, *Variations*, liv. ix. s. 90; Smedley, *Hist. of Reform. in France*, 1, 175 sq. In a contemporary letter of Parker to Cecil, we see the interest felt by the English with regard to the fruits of this 'Colloquy.' Parker's *Correspond.* p. 147.

¹ See Dugdale's *Life and Character of Edmund Geste*, pp. 37 sq. Lond. 1840.

² Dr. Lamb, in 1829, published, among other documents, an exact copy of the Latin Articles of 1563, as presented by Parker to the Convocation. It contains also the marks of numerous corrections which the Formulary had itself experienced while under the notice of that body.

³ Strype, *Annals*, A.D. 1558, l. 53, 174, Lond. 1725.

overtures proceeded from the English court, with the idea of joining the great Lutheran, or Schmalkaldic, league;¹ to the annoyance of those churchmen, who were still evincing sympathy with Peter Martyr,² who were satisfied with the Helvetic Confession,³ and who spoke of Lutherans as mere 'papists' in disguise.⁴ Negotiations on the subject of this union were continued eagerly for a while and then broken off; but notwithstanding the failure of the project, no small part of the fresh matter in the Articles of 1563 was borrowed from a Lutheran document, itself in turn an echo of the Augsburg Confession. It bears the title of 'Confession of Württemberg,'⁵ and was presented to the

¹ See Jewel to Peter Martyr, April 28, 1559; *Zurich Letters*, i. 21: cf. pp. 54, 55, and ii. 48.

² He was strongly opposed to the Augsburg Confession, and had migrated from Strasburg to Zürich on account of the Lutheran tendencies of the former place: *Ibid.* ii. 111: cf. his own letter to Sampson (March 20, 1560): *Ibid.* ii. 48.

³ Grindal writing to Bullinger (August 27, 1566) declared that 'notwithstanding the attempts of many to the contrary,' the English fully agreed with the Swiss, and with the Confession they had 'lately' set forth (meaning perhaps the second 'Helvetic Confession'): *Ibid.* i. 169.

⁴ Thus Grindal in the letter cited above has classed the Lutherans with 'Ecebolians' and 'semi-papists,' and intimates that they were menacing the Church of England (cf. ii. 261, 262). Grindal and Horne (i. 177) writing jointly to Bullinger and Gualter (Feb. 6, 1567) declare that their forced adoption of the authorized vestments was the only means of preserving the Church from 'a papistical or at least a *Lutherano-papistical* ministry:' cf. ii. 143, when the same plea for conformity is alleged by Gualter in writing to Beza (Sept. 11, 1566). He had just before (July 23, 1566) stigmatised the English Clergy as 'wolves, papists, Lutherans, Sadducees and Herodians' (ii. 125). The root of his hatred lay in what he deemed the half-measures of the Lutherans, who 'invent a form of religion of a mixed, uncertain, and doubtful character, and obtrude the same upon the churches under the pretext of evangelical reformation: from which the return to papistical superstition and idol-madness is afterwards most easy' (*Ibid.* ii. 11). And in this sentiment he is echoed by George Withers, the great organ of the disaffected English (*Ibid.* ii. 157).

⁵ See it at length in Le Plat, *Monum.* iv. 420 sqq. The resemblance of our own to this Formulary was first pointed out in Laurence's *Bampton Lect.* p. 40, and notes. It professes to be in exact accordance with the Augsburg Articles; and although designed for the single State of Württemberg, it will be found to be a mere compendium of the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae*, drawn up at the

Council of Trent in 1552 by the ambassadors of that state.¹

From it has been derived the clause in our second Article, touching the eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Son; the agreement being absolutely *verbatim*.²

The same is true respecting the third Article, 'Of the Holy Spirit,' which has no equivalent in the Edwardine series, but exists entire among the Würtemberg Articles.³

An appendix to the sixth of our present list (the fifth of the Edwardine), stating that those books are to be reputed as component parts of the Sacred Canon, 'of whose authority there has never been any doubt in the Church,' is manifestly copied from the same quarter.⁴

The tenth Article,⁵ on 'Free Will,' the new portion of the eleventh,⁶ on 'Justification,' and the twelfth,⁷ on 'Good Works,' though not agreeing to the letter with the language of the same Formulary, are no less obviously adapted from

same period by the Saxon Churches for presentation at the Council of Trent (Francke, *Libri Symbol.* Append. pp. 69—116).

¹ Sarpi, II. 104, ed. Courayer.

² 'Credimus et confitemur Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ab æterno a Patre suo genitum, verum et æternum Deum, Patri suo consubstantialem.' De Filio Dei. For the corresponding English Articles, see App. No. III.

³ 'Credimus et confitemur Spiritum Sanctum ab æterno procedero a Deo Patre et Filio, et esse ejusdem cum Patre et Filio essentiæ, majestatis, et gloriæ, verum ac æternum Deum.' De Spiritu Sancto.

⁴ 'Sacram Scripturam vocamus eos Canonicos libros veteris et novi Testamenti, de quorum autoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.' De Sacra Scriptura.

⁵ 'Quod autem nonnulli affirmant homini post lapsum tantam animi integritatem relictam, ut possit sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac preparare, haud obscure pugnat cum Apostolica doctrina, et cum vero Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consensu.' De Peccato.

⁶ 'Homo enim fit Deo acceptus, et reputatur coram eo justus, propter solum Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, per fidem.' De Justificatione, and still more closely in the statement, 'De Evangelio Christi.'

⁷ 'Non est autem sentiendum, quod iis bonis operibus, quæ per nos facimus, in judicio Dei ubi agitur de expiatione peccatorum, et placatione divinæ iræ, ac merito æternæ salutis, confidendum est. Omnia enim bona opera, quæ nos facimus, sunt imperfecta, nec possunt severitatem divini judicii ferre.' De Bonis Operibus.

it; while the oft-disputed clause of our twentieth Article¹ (to which we shall advert hereafter) is analogous to language there employed by Würtemberg theologians with regard to the judicial functions of the Church.

But in addition to important hints derivable from this foreign source, the copy of the Formulary as submitted by archbishop Parker to the southern Convocation in 1563, exhibits a variety of other changes.

We discover that the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of our present set were now introduced by him; the first attempting to discountenance an error then prevailing with respect to the communication of Christ² to the unworthy receiver of the Lord's Supper; and the second indicating the propriety of communion in both kinds. The fifth and twelfth on 'the Holy Spirit' and 'Good Works' respectively, though traceable as we have seen to the Confession of Würtemberg, were both entirely new in this rough draft of the Elizabethan Articles. The first had been designed, we may conjecture, to complete dogmatic statements of the Church in opposition to the Arians, and the second to repudiate the conclusion of the Solifidians; both of whom were following in the track of the reforming movement.³

Other *amplifications* indicate the same anxiety to check the progress of new forms of error and to obviate misconception with regard to earlier statements.⁴ Such is the

¹ 'Credimus et confitemur quod . . . hæc Ecclesia habeat jus judicandi de omnibus doctrinis, etc . . . Quod hæc ecclesia habeat jus interpretandæ Scripturæ.' De Ecclesia.

² This article, however, as we shall see hereafter, did not appear in the early *printed* copies of the Articles, as finally put forth.

³ That such enemies continued to look formidable in the early years of Elizabeth is clear, among other proofs, from the following expressions of Parker (March 1, 1558.9): 'They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Free-will men, etc., against whom only I thought ministers should have needed to fight in unity of doctrine. As for the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their own books and confessions of late days.' He then alludes to internal discords: 'I never dreamed that ministers should be compelled to impugn ministers, etc.' Parker's *Correspondence*, ed. P. S. p. 61: cf. p. 321.

⁴ Other additions, though only verbal, and as such passed over now, deserve to be carefully noted by the student; e.g., in the Article 'de Prædestinatione' the Edwardine reading is 'decrevit eos quos elegit;' the Elizabethan, 'decrevit eos quos in Christo elegit.'

design of matter added to the second, fifth, and eleventh of the XLII. Articles. The fifth was also now *enlarged* by a specification of the books accepted as canonical; the sixth by adding to it a new clause insisting on the present obligation of the moral law,—which clause however was transferred from the nineteenth of the elder series.

A more adequate definition on the freedom of the will, and on its forfeiture by Adam's fall, was introduced into the earlier article relating to that question.

The twenty-sixth was now modified in such a way as to deny distinctly that Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are 'Sacraments of the Gospel.'

The thirty-third was subjected to similar enlargement, for the purpose of declaring the authority of a national Church to institute and to abolish ceremonies.

The thirty-fourth was made to specify the titles of the Homilies (with the exception of that against Rebellion, which was published afterwards).

The thirty-sixth, in answer to misgivings and objections, dwelt upon the sense in which the royal supremacy had been accepted by the Church in matters ecclesiastical.¹

The same regard to present wants and fresh emergencies may be observed on turning to the principal *substitutions*, in the copy of the Articles revised by Parker and his colleagues, and at length adopted in the Synod.

Certain dogmas which had been denounced in the twenty-third Article of 1553 as fictions of some '*schoolmen*,' are significantly described in 1563 as the '*doctrina Romanensium*;' the Tridentine doctors having then made

¹ 'The Queen is unwilling to be addressed either by word of mouth, or in writing, as the *head* of the Church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone,' etc. Jewel to Bullinger, May 22, 1559; *Zurich Letters*, i. 33; cf. p. 24, and Sandys to Parker (April 30, 1559) in Burnet, 'Records,' Part II. Bk. III. N. II. who says the scruple was suggested to the Queen by Lever. Parker still thought that the claims of the civil power were excessive in some cases: 'Whatsoever the ecclesiastical prerogative is,' he writes to Cecil (April 11, 1575), 'I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it her in the Injunction, and yet her governance is of more prerogative than the head papists would grant unto her.' *Correspond.* p. 479

further progress in the building and consolidation of the neo-Romish system.

The use of other than vernacular language in the performance of Divine worship is more strongly interdicted.

Infant baptism is declared to be not only tenable,¹ as seems to be implied in the Edwardine Articles, but 'most agreeable to the institution of Christ.'

The theory of transubstantiation is now said to 'overthrow the nature of a sacrament:'² yet while the Romish doctrine of the Eucharist was thus rejected, a new paragraph was added, on the motion of bishop Guest,³ to vindicate the truth from opposite perversions; for this paragraph declares that 'the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper,' though 'only after an heavenly and spiritual manner.'

The lawfulness of clerical marriage is now *positively* advocated, in the place of the assertion in the former series that no precept could be urged *against* it.

The Ordinal is mentioned by itself, and also is defended from the cavils⁴ of the Romanizing party, who objected that, owing to an informality in acts of parliament, all

¹ Cf. Hardwick's *Reform*, p. 252, n. 2.

² The phrase was not new, however, since we find its equivalent 'a natura sacramenti discrepat' in the *Reform. Legum*. 'De Hæres.' c. 19: and in the 'Declaration of Christian Doctrine' (MS. C. C. Camb. No. cxxi. p. 155), drawn up in 1559, the same thought recurs: 'So dothe it utterly denye the nature of a sacrament.' It is also worthy of notice, that this very point had been strongly urged by Beza at the recent 'Colloquy of Poissy' and had there excited the deepest indignation. Fleury, liv. clvii. s. 6.

³ This fact has lately been established by the discovery among the State Papers of a letter from Guest to Cecil (Dec. 22, 1566); where he justifies the use of the adverb 'only,' and says that he never intended it to exclude 'the presence of Christis body from the sacrament, but only the grossenes and sensiblenes in the receaving thereof.'

⁴ In repealing the Prayer-book, Queen Mary had also mentioned the Ordinal by name; but on the accession of Elizabeth, when the Prayer-Book was restored, the Ordinal was not so specified, being regarded as part of the former. On the ground of this omission, it was urged by Bonner and some others of his school, that ordinations which had been made since the year 1559, according to the Edwardine form, were in the eye of the law defective. See Courayer, *On English Ordinations*, pp. 126 sqq. Oxf. 1844.

persons consecrated or ordained, according to this form, since the accession of Elizabeth, possessed no *legal* status as the clergy of the Church of England.

Other modifications of the Articles, as we inspect them in the Primate's copy, may be classed under the head of retrenchments or *omissions*. These also are both numerous and important.

Four Articles were dropped entirely :

(1) The tenth, on 'Grace.'

(2) The sixteenth, on 'Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost,'—abandoned, it may be, from a reluctance to define the nature of the irremissible sin, or, as in other cases, from the partial disappearance of the sect at which it had been levelled.

(3) The nineteenth, on the obligation of the moral Law—a portion of it having been incorporated in the seventh of the new Articles.

(4) The forty-first, against the 'Millenarii'—owing, it may be, to the suppression of fanatic teachers who had formerly converted Millenarian expectations¹ into pretexts for licentiousness, both moral and political.

In tracing out omissions in the Parker Manuscript, we should notice that one passage, in the Article on Holy Scripture, had been dropped, as it would seem, upon the ground that toleration ought on no account to be conceded to ecclesiastical usages which stood at variance with express injunctions of the Word of God.

A clause had also been withdrawn from the Article on Predestination, which affirmed that 'the Divine decrees are unknown to us.'

The Article 'Of the Sacraments,' was made to undergo considerable dislocation ; but of passages omitted, none was more important than that containing the scholastic phrase 'ex opere operato,' which had been originally censured on the ground that it was foreign to Holy Scripture and was likely to engender a superstitious sense. The condemnation of such phraseology was now omitted ; it

¹ Some, however, denounced the hypothesis *in toto*. See a contemporary account of the 'Milenaries,' in Alley's *Poore Man's Librarie*, I. 222 sqq.

may be, as the result of explanations recently offered in the Council of Trent,¹ as well as in the work of individual polemics.²

The effect, then, of this searching criticism of Parker and his colleagues was, *first*, to add four Articles; *secondly*, to take away an equal number; *thirdly*, to modify, by partial amplification or curtailment, as many as seventeen of the remainder. And no higher proof can be afforded of the care with which these changes were conducted than the general disposition to adopt them in the Synod,³ to whose notice they were next submitted.

¹ See Sarpi, i. 423, 424, and Conrayer's excellent annotations.

² The following specimen occurs in Joliffe against Hooper, while commenting on this Article: 'Quod enim dicimus gratiam et remissionem peccatorum in nobis fieri *ex opere operato*, nihil est aliud quam eam fieri in nobis, *non propter opus, aut meritum hominis operantis, sed propter opus Christi per visibile aliquod sacramentum largientis gratiam*: veluti cum infans baptizatus justificatur, non per ullum opus suum, aut susipientis, aut ministri, sed *per ipsum opus operatum*, hoc est, per ipsum baptismi sacramentum, gratiam et remissionem peccatorum assequitur, *propter Christum in illo sacramento operantem*,' fol. 173, b. It has also been pointed out to me that Jewel's recent controversy with Harding, where the phrase 'ex opere operato' was examined at some length, might have suggested the propriety of withdrawing all reference to expressions, which both Joliffe and Harding could make use of, without confounding the efficacy of Sacraments with their mechanical administration.

³ Parker's language respecting the character of the clergy there assembled is curious and suggestive. He writes to Cecil (shortly after April 14, 1563), on reviewing the 'qualities of all his brethren' as manifested in the 'Convocation Societies': 'I see some of them to be *pleni rimarum, hac atque illac effluunt*, although indeed the Queen's Majesty may have good cause to be well contented with her choice of the most of them,' etc. He adds, 'Though we have done amongst ourselves little in our own cause, yet I assure you our mutual conferences have taught us such experiences, that I trust we shall all be the better in governance for hereafter.' *Correspondence*, p. 173. With regard to the relative strength of church-parties at the time, it is remarkable that ritualistic scruples had already appeared in great numbers (see Strype's *Annals*, i. 335 sq. ed. 1725). One batch of *reformanda* on this subject was signed by the Prolocutor and thirty-two other members of the lower house. An attempt was also made to modify the 33rd Article 'Of Traditions' after it had passed both houses; and was only defeated by a majority of one. 'Those,' writes Strype 'that were for alterations and for stripping the English Church of her ceremonies and usages then retained and used, were

The Convocation of Canterbury assembled on the day appointed in the royal writ (Jan. 12, 1563), and on the 13th, after service at St. Paul's, proceeded to the solemn business for which it had been called together. Parker, as primate of all England, was the president, and was supported by the following bishops of the southern province :

Edmund (Grindal) of London ;
 Robert (Horne) of Winchester ;
 William (Barlowe) of Chichester ;
 John (Scory) of Hereford ;
 Richard (Cox) of Ely ;
 Edwin (Sandys) of Worcester ;
 Roland (Merick) of Bangor ;
 Nicholas (Bolingham) of Lincoln ;
 John (Jewel) of Salisbury ;
 Richard (Davis) of St. David's ;
 Edmund (Guest) of Rochester ;
 Gilbert (Berkeley) of Bath and Wells ;
 Thomas (Bentham) of Coventry and Lichfield ;
 William (Alley) of Exeter ;
 John (Parkhurst) of Norwich ;
 Edmund (Scambler) of Peterborough ;
 Thomas (Davies) of St. Asaph ;
 Richard (Guest) of Gloucester and commendatory of
 Bristol.¹

In his opening speech the president congratulated the two houses on the opportunity thus given them for promoting the well-being of the Church, and at the same time intimated with how much of zeal and interest both Elizabeth and the English nobles were awaiting the conclusions of the present Synod. He then directed the lower house, as usual, to proceed with the election of a Prolocutor ;

such (as I find by their names subscribed) as had lately lived abroad.'
 p. 337.

¹ Strype, *Parker*, p. 121. It should be remembered, that the original Registers of this Convocation are not extant, having been destroyed in the fire of London, 1666. An important extract, entitled 'Acta in superiore Domo Convocationis anno 1562,' is, however, fortunately preserved (Strype, *Annals*, i. 315 : Bennet, *Essay*, pp. 165 sqq.). This paper not only assists us in tracing the Articles through the upper house of Convocation, but also illustrates the proceedings of the lower house during the same period.

and on the 16th of January¹ they presented Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, to serve in that capacity. It seems that on the 19th the Synod re-assembled at Westminster, instead of the more customary place of meeting in the chapter-house of St. Paul's. On this occasion, the prolocutor, in the name of all the clergy, who appear to have evinced the greatest ardour in the cause of reformation, reported to the prelates that 'the Articles published in the Synod of London, during the reign of Edward, had been handed to a committee of the lower house, in order that they might weigh and re-construct them (if such changes were thought proper), in time for the following session.'² The bishops in the mean while had been occupied by independent deliberations on the same absorbing topics; and, as the primate would naturally take the lead in all such matters, it is highly probable that he submitted to his brother-prelates the particular copy of the Articles which had been previously revised under his own eye. On the 20th, the 22nd, the 25th, and the 27th of January,³ other faint and fragmentary traces may be found of disputations then excited in the upper house by the projected formulary; and on the 29th, at an early session in St. Paul's,⁴ a further conference 'respecting some of the Articles,' was followed by subscription on the part of all the prelates then assembled.

One at least of the authentic vouchers for this fact is extant in the Latin manuscript of Archbishop Parker noticed on a former page. The signatures which it contains are manifestly *autographs*; and, as some prelates of the northern province are included in the number of subscribers⁵ there recorded, we are tempted to infer that this was the identical copy of the Articles transmitted for the sanction of the clergy then assembled in the northern Convocation.

But formidable doubts have been excited as to the

¹ Strype, *Parker*, Ibid.

² Bennet, p. 167.

³ Strype, *Parker*, Ibid.

⁴ 'Inter horas 8^{am} et 9^{am} ante meridiem.' Bennet, Ibid.

⁵ They are Thomas (Young) of York, James (Pilkington) of Durham, William (Downham) of Chester.

supreme authority of the Parker Manuscript by collating portions of it with an extract taken from the actual register of Convocation in the time of Archbishop Laud, and formally attested by a public notary to satisfy or silence his accusers.¹ Besides exhibiting a different version of one article 'On the Authority of the Church' (to be considered afterwards), the extract from the Convocation-records has preserved a catalogue of the assentient prelates, varying in some noticeable points from that surviving in the Parker Manuscript:² and fresh perplexity is added to this question

¹ He had been accused of forging the disputed clause in Art. XX.; and, after appealing to four printed copies of the Articles, one of them as early as 1563, and all of them containing the very passage which the Puritans disliked, he added: 'I shall make it yet plainer: for it is not fit concerning an Article of Religion, and an Article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many or never so ancient. Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned to me the twentieth Article with this affirmative clause in it, and there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen.' *Remains*, II. 83 (quoted with remarks by Bennet, p. 166). The copy, thus taken before the destruction of the records, is said to be still in existence. Bennet himself made use of it, and has printed it in his *Essay*, pp. 167—169.

² This MS. contains the subscriptions of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, Ely, Worcester, Hereford, Bangor, Lincoln, Salisbury, St. David's, Bath and Wells, Coventry and Lichfield, Exeter, Norwich, Peterborough, and St. Asaph,—besides the three above mentioned who belonged to the other province. The copy of the record produced by archbishop Laud omits the three northern prelates, as well as those of Chichester, Worcester, and Peterborough. It, however, includes the name of Guest, bishop of Rochester, although some persons have doubted whether he *subscribed* or not (Bennet, p. 184)—a suspicion which is somewhat strengthened, so far as Parker's draft is concerned, by what is known of Guest's opinions on the Eucharist. But when the 3rd clause in the Art. 'De Cœna Domini,' appearing to favour Zwinglian views as to the nature of the Presence, was struck out by the Convocation, Guest would be entirely satisfied, and so might subscribe;—which strongly favours the conclusion that the extract produced at Laud's trial was taken from a *later* and more authoritative document. On the other hand, Cheynie, bishop of Gloucester, though occasionally present at meetings of the Synod, never acquiesced in some of the decisions, which explains the omission of his name in *all* the lists. (Strype, *Annals*, I. 563). The bishopric of Oxford was not full; and Kitchen of Llandaff (apparently from want of sympathy) took no part in the proceedings.

by the circumstance, that *both* the series of episcopal signatures are said to have been appended to the Articles on the same day and in the same place.

If one may safely hazard a conjecture in the midst of these clashing statements, it is possible that after the house of bishops had subscribed the primate's copy on the 29th of January, it was transmitted to the Northern Convocation, without waiting for the criticism of the lower house, who had continued their discussions for another week; and that on its return it was deposited, like other private papers, with the Parker Manuscripts, where it is now surviving; while *the* copy of the Articles as left when finally authorized by the whole Synod on the fifth of the following month had found its natural place among the other records of Convocation, *viz.*, in the registry belonging to the see of Canterbury, at St. Paul's cathedral.

But if cogent reasons¹ do exist for thus disputing the supreme authority of the Parker Manuscript, and even for rejecting claims put forth on its behalf as constituting the most finished copy of the Articles, the form they had assumed at the rising of the Convocation—that Manuscript is, notwithstanding, a most valuable guide in tracing out their early progress, and determining the nature and amount of changes which had been impressed upon them in the house of bishops.²

When first presented to that house about the 19th of January, the Articles, by reason of the balance in previous changes were still forty-two in number: but on the 29th, which is the date of the episcopal subscriptions, three more Articles had been erased. These were the thirty-ninth, the fortieth, and the forty-second of the Edwardine series, all of them relating, like the forty-first, which had been previously

¹ See more on this subject in Bennet, c. VIII., and Strype, *Parker*, pp. 319, 320, where it is argued that this MS., as well as a second of 1571, are no more than 'first schemes or drafts preparatory.' The fact of their being left in the *private* library of Parker, the variety of corrections in the documents themselves, and the absence of all mention of royal approbation, naturally form the main arguments of those learned antiquaries.

² These alterations are distinguished in the MS. by the marks of a red minium pencil, and by the Archbishop's own handwriting. Dr. Lamb, *Hist. Account*, p. 17.

withdrawn by Parker, to the theories of Anabaptism; and the cause of the suppression was most probably that above suggested, *viz.*, the comparative disappearance of the sect whose tenets had been previously denounced.

A fresh omission is observable in the statement on our blessed Lord's 'Descent into Hell,' which had been justified in earlier Articles by pointing to the well-known language of St. Peter. That allusion to a single text was now abandoned; as we may conjecture, on account of violent controversies which had been excited in some districts, more particularly in the diocese of Exeter,¹ by theorizing on this very subject.

A third erasure of importance had been made in the article respecting the 'Lord's Supper,' which, as we have

¹ Among the papers of Alley, bishop of that see, which had been drawn up for the synod of 1563, there is one relating to this very subject. After expressing his desire that the clergy might all preach one kind of doctrine, and not inveigh against each other, he proceeds: 'First, for matters of Scripture, namely, for this place which is written in the epistle of St. Peter, that *Christ went down into hell, and preached to the souls that were in prison*. There have been in my diocese great *invectives between the preachers*, one against the other, and also partakers with them; some holding, that the going down of Christ His soul to hell, was nothing else but the virtue and strength of Christ His death, to be made manifest and known to them that were dead before. Others say, that *descendit in inferna* is nothing else but that Christ did sustain upon the cross the infernal pains of hell. . . . Finally, others preach, that this article is not contained in other symbols, neither in the symbol of Cyprian, or rather Rufine. And all these sayings they ground upon Erasmus, and the Germans, and especially upon the authority of Mr. Calvin and Mr. Bullinger. The contrary side bring for them the universal consent and all the Fathers of both Churches, both of the Greeks and the Latins . . . Thus, my right honourable good lords, your wisdoms may perceive, what tragedies and dissensions may arise for consenting to or dissenting from, this Article.' See Strype, *Annals*, i. 348, ed. 1725; and for some notice of a warm controversy at Cambridge on the same question in 1567, *Life of Parker*, p. 258. In the volume of theological Miscellanies by bishop Alley, entitled *The Poore Mans Librarie*, (Lond. 1565) he 'declares at large the opinions and judgements as well of the olde Fathers as of later writers, concerning this article of the faith,' (Tom. II. fol. 72—77) and concludes by saying, 'One thinge I would wishe, that neither this article, nor any other conteyned in the symbole, commonly called *Symbolum Apostolorum*, shoulde be lightlie shaken of, but to be beleued as they stande there.'

seen, was partially re-cast by the Archbishop and his friends before the meeting of the Synod. A long paragraph, adapted from the older series, disappears entirely from the Articles of 1563; and, even had we no historical evidence by which to illustrate the motives for this change, we might have readily assigned it to a disagreement of the prelates with regard to the peculiar shade of doctrine thus abandoned or withdrawn. But in the history of the Elizabethan period there are numberless allusions to the quarrel which had only been exasperated by this article in its original form. The clause of it ejected by the Synod was to many minds suggestive of interpretations favourable to the school of Zwingli. It appeared to question the presence of our blessed Lord's humanity, *in any way whatever*, at the celebration of the Eucharist: and this would doubtless be a reason for the change effected, in the judgment of one class of prelates.¹ The ejected clause had also opened an ulterior question, which was agitated at that very juncture with peculiar bitterness among the continental Reformers,² *viz.*, whether the humanity of our Lord, as now glorified, is so absolutely and inseparably associated with His Divinity, that we are justified in

¹ Dorman, who wrote his *Disprove of all Nouvelles Reprouve* in 1565, alludes to this controversy in the 'new church,' as he calls it (fol. 52, a); affirming that while some, like Edmund Guest (of Rochester), preached for the 'real presence,' and others, like Grindal, denied it, Parker was 'suspected to be a Lutheran:' cf. fol. 103. It is probable that all these statements are somewhat exaggerated; but Nowel, in his 'Confutation of Dorman,' does not deny that disunion existed on the subject (fol. 362). In 1571, however, the archbishop writes as if no material differences had been perpetuated (*Corresp.* p. 379). Still it is indisputable that the change effected in 1563 in this Article was most distasteful to the 'Swiss' party. In proof of this it is sufficient to adduce an extract from a Letter of Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger, July, 1566. They are pointing out the 'blemishes' which still attach to the Church of England: 'Lastly, the Article composed in the time of Edward the Sixth, *respecting the spiritual eating*, which expressly oppugned and took away the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and contained a most clear explanation of the truth, is now set forth among us *mutilated and imperfect.*' *Zurich Letters*, I. 165.

² See Le Bas, *Life of Jewel*, pp. 129, 130. The Lutheran Brenz had fully developed this doctrine, as to the omnipresence of our Lord's glorified humanity, in 1561: see Hardwick's *Reform.* p. 153.

speaking of His Body as present in many places at one and the same time.

Whatever may have been the number of voices advocating this or that side of the dispute, it closed like the preceding altercations on the subject of our Lord's descent to Hades; the expressions which had formed a stumbling-block to many, or which seemed to minister incentives to a fruitless controversy, were eventually withdrawn by their proposers. Such withdrawal may be taken as a further testimony to the latitude and brotherly forbearance which were constantly exhibited, on minor points, in the decisions of the English Church: and if some persons have been ready to condemn this silence as a mark of hesitation or indifferentism, they may discover an abundant justification of it, with regard to one large group of speculative truths, not only in the general history of Councils, but in some of the most stirring records of the Synod of Trent itself.

The few remaining alterations of the upper house were limited to single phrases, nearly all of which, however, are deemed worthy of some cursory notice.

The eighth article of the elder series had read in one version of *φρόνημα σαρκός* the word 'studium' only, and the omission had not been observed by archbishop Parker; but 'carnis' was now added by the Convocation for the sake of completing the sense.¹

In the title of the fifteenth article Parker had retained 'in Spiritum Sanctum,' which phrase was subsequently underscored in the Manuscript, and the words 'after baptism' introduced.

In the twenty-second of the Edwardine Articles 'verbo Dei' was substituted for 'verbis Dei.'

In the margin of the twenty-ninth a passage of St. Augustine, which had there been cited, was distinctly verified by reference to the treatise² out of which it was taken.

¹ In the English Articles of 1553 the passage stood correctly, 'The desire of the flesh.'

² The reference so appended was 'super Joann. Tract. 26,' which afterwards gave rise to some 'nibbling.' See Strype's *Parker*, pp. 331, 332: cf. Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 229 and 'Pref.' p. xxxiii.; where, however, he forgets, in speaking of the quotation as spurious

And in the thirty-third, on 'Traditions Ecclesiastical,' the word 'temporum' was added after 'regionum,' to make the statement of the principle more full and comprehensive.

By such further modifications the whole number of the Articles was now reduced to thirty-nine; and in the form which it assumed at this stage,¹ the document appears to have been sent into the lower house of Convocation. We have seen already that the members of that house had manifested a peculiar eagerness for the revival of the Articles of 1553,² and even had proceeded to organize a committee, under the sanction of the bishops, for considering what changes were required before such Articles could be re-published. The 20th of January was the day appointed for the bringing up of their report; and if this order were punctually obeyed, their criticism was under the notice of the bishops during all their own deliberations. It is now of course impossible to ascertain how many of the changes ultimately adopted are attributable to the hints of

or interpolated, that the words extruded by the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine are found in Bede, Alcuin, and others.

¹ It may be remarked, on taking leave of the Parker MS., that the following statement is appended to this copy of the Articles: *Hos Articulos fidei Christianæ, continentes in universum novemdecim paginas in autographo, quod asservatur apud Reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Matthæum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, totius Angliæ primatem et metropolitanum (then follows an enumeration of the Articles in each page), nos archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque provinciæ in sacra Synodo provinciali legitime congregati, recipimus et profiteremur, et ut veros atque orthodoxos, manuum nostrarum subscriptionibus approbamus, vicesimo nono die mensis Januarii anno Domini secundum computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingen^o sexagesimo secundo, illustrissimæ Principis Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei Defensoris etc. dominæ nostræ clementissimæ, anno quinto.* The subscriptions are then added, as enumerated above, p. 133, n. 2.

² A list of 'Matters to be moved by the clergy in the next parliament and synod,' which Strype has printed in his *Annals*, i. 317, sq. proceeded from some of the more zealous reformers. It includes the following note, among others: 'Certain Articles containing the principal grounds of Christian religion are to be set forth, in which also is to be determined the truth of those things which in this age are called in question. Much like to such Articles as were set forth a little before the death of King Edward. Of which Articles the most part may be used with additions and corrections, as shall be thought convenient.'

this committee; but on comparing the first edition of the Articles, as put forth in 1563, with the Manuscript containing the episcopal signatures, we gather most unquestionably that the lower house of Convocation acquiesced almost implicitly in the copy which received the approbation of the bishops on the 29th of January:—the only variations between the printed series and the Parker Manuscript being (1) the existence in the former of the disputed clause of Article XX., on Church-authority; and (2) the omission from it of the whole of Article XXIX., on the effect of unworthy partaking. To these two important modifications we shall presently recur.

At a session held on the 5th of February, the prolocutor¹ and six other members were called up into the presence of bishop Grindal (acting in the room of Parker), and were questioned with regard to the 'Book of Doctrine' lately forwarded from the bishops for subscription in the lower house. The prolocutor, on replying to the summons, exhibited a copy of the Articles, remarking that they had already passed, and had been signed by several of the members; but as others seem to have betrayed reluctance in following that example, he proceeded to request that orders might be issued from the prelates to enjoin subscriptions in all cases. For this reason it was now decreed unanimously that the names of persons who continued in the list of non-subscribers at the next meeting should be noted by the prolocutor. Many fresh names accordingly appear to have been added before the day when Convocation re-assembled (Feb. 10); and as no further measures were adopted after the 12th of this month, for stimulating the reluctant or coercing the refractory spirits, it is probable that nearly all the members of the lower house gave in their acquiescence either in person or by proxy.²

¹ The only authentic information now obtainable respecting these proceedings is derived from brief extracts above mentioned (p. 131, n. 1): and as they all were taken from the journals of the upper house, the light reflected from them on the lower is but casual and indirect.

² A list of subscribers has been published in Strype, *Annals*, i. 327—329; but there seems no sufficient ground for supposing that it is a full and perfectly authentic copy, (cf. Dr. Lamb's *Hist. Acc.* 20 sqq., Bennet, c. vi. *passim*). The number of representatives in the

When the labours of the Synod¹ were thus brought to an harmonious conclusion, in so far at least as they concerned the new formulary, we might naturally expect to follow it at once into the chamber of the privy council, and there witness the affixing of the royal approbation. Coke indeed has stated² that the Articles of 1563 were ratified in the most formal manner, by passing under the great seal of England; but, however this may be, it is apparent that some time elapsed³ before the labours of the Convocation were given to the public. That first edition of the Articles, bearing date 1563 and in Latin, issued from the royal press. It also urges that the work to which an *imprimatur* was thus granted had been diligently read and sifted by her Majesty in person.⁴ There is consequently little or no doubt that, in the absence of the Manuscript⁵ which had been finally accepted by the Crown, the most authentic representation of the Articles of 1563 exists in the Latin text, as printed under the direct authority of Elizabeth herself. Invested, as it was, with the concurrent sanction

lower house was one hundred and forty-four: twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four prebendaries (or proctors of chapters), forty-four proctors of the diocesan clergy, and one precentor (St. David's). All the signatures in Strype amount to ninety-one 'proprii manibus,' and fifteen others, 'per procuracionem.'

¹ Though the northern Convocation, as a body, had no direct influence in the compiling of the Articles, its concurrence was to some extent implied in the signatures of the archbishop of York and his two suffragans. In 1605 all doubts and scruples on this question were set at rest by the formal acceptance of the Articles in the Convocation of York.

² *Instit.* Part IV. c. 74, quoted by Bennet, p. 220.

³ See Bennet, c. xvii. Others, less correctly, make the interval nearly one year: e.g., Cardwell's *Synod.* i. 38.

⁴ The language is very noticeable: 'Quibus omnibus Articulis serenissima princeps Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei Defensor, etc., per seipsam diligenter lectis et examinatis regium suum assensum præbuit.'

⁵ I am disposed to think that the Latin MS. from which this first edition of the Articles was printed is now among the Elizabethan State Papers, 'Domestic,' Vol. xxvii. § 41, A. The draft is not dated and is without heading, but is manifestly an early copy. It omits the XXIXth Article; while the disputed clause in Art. XX. filling just one line and somewhat crowding the page, was clearly introduced in the same hand, after the draft itself was made.

of the civil and ecclesiastical powers,¹ it alone, of the existing copies, exercised a binding force upon the conscience of the English clergy.

Now, as we have seen already, one of the new Articles,² relating to unworthy participation of the Eucharist and standing as the XXIXth in Parker's Manuscript, is altogether wanting in this printed copy; and, still more, it actually contains the celebrated clause affirming the authority of the Church in controversies of faith. These changes *may* of course have been adopted at the instance³ of the lower house of Convocation *after* the episcopal signatures were all appended to the Parker Manuscript, or, what is far more probable, they were inserted by the royal council in compliance with the wishes of the monarch or the scruples of her chief advisers:⁴ but in either case it

¹ See Dr. Cardwell's remark, *Synod.* i. 38, 39.

² Bennet argues that it *had* passed the Convocation, but was subsequently withdrawn (cf. below, n. 4), through tenderness to the extreme or Romanising party, who were still in communion with the Church of England. At the time when this Article was re-admitted (1571) the secession of that party was taking place, and therefore the same need of forbearance no longer existed; pp. 233, 234.

³ With respect to the disputed clause in Art. XX, it is evident from the existence of a similar passage in the Würtemberg Confession of 1552 (above, p. 126), from equivalent affirmations in Art. XXXIV., from the sequel of Art. XX., and even from the language used by members of the Puritanic party in the Elizabethan period, that no reasonable ground existed to the introduction of such statements into the new Formulary. See, for instance, the language of Fox, in Strype's *Annals*, i. 326. It was not until the troublous time of Charles I. that the obnoxious character of the Article was clearly discovered or any definite controversy opened on the subject.

⁴ Cardwell's *Synod.* i. 39. This view is urged by Dr. Lamb, pp. 34, 35, and receives some degree of probability from what happened during an interview (cf. above, p. 137, n. 2) between Parker and Cecil in 1571 (Strype's *Parker*, pp. 331, 332); where Cecil called in question the fairness of the quotation made in the 29th Article from the writings of St. Augustine. His own scruples, or still more his gentleness in dealing with adherents of the 'old learning' (whether Romish or Lutheran), might have thus occasioned the withdrawal of the Article from the Convocation-records; and examples given by Mr. Soames (*Elizabeth. Hist.* pp. 222, 223, notes) appear to demonstrate that such acts of interference on the part of the Crown and Royal Council were not uncommon at the time.

is indisputable that the changes were admitted, without protest, if not cordially adopted in the Church at large. One discrepancy, it is true, was speedily adjusted, since the twenty-ninth article was re-adopted by the bishops on May 11, 1571, and finds its place in all the printed copies of that date, whether English or Latin. Its suspension, therefore, lasting for so short a period, has excited far less criticism than the conflicting versions of the twentieth article; for these, affirming or omitting, as they did, the claim of synods and of Church-tribunals to adjudicate in controversies of the faith, were touching on a class of questions, which, at least in all the seventeenth century, gave rise to the most formidable altercations and collisions.¹

The precise amount of evidence adducible on both sides of this vexed question² may be briefly stated thus:

The controverted clause is *not* found

(1) In the Latin MS. of Parker, which was signed by himself and the other bishops, on the 29th of January, 1563.

Nor (2) in an English 'minute' of the Articles, among the Elizabethan State Papers,³ dated January 31, 1563 (two days later).

Nor (3) in a fair copy of this English draft, also among the State Papers,⁴ and endorsed 'Articles of Religion agreed on, 1562, in the Convocation house.'

Nor (4) in the English version of the Articles, as printed by Jugge and Cawood, in 1563.

¹ Some account of an early disputation on this topic will be found in the *Life of Heylin*, who selected Church-authority as the subject for an exercise in the schools. His opponent was the Professor himself (Dr. Prideaux): *Life of Heylin*, pp. xcii., xciii., prefixed to his *History of the Reform.* ed. Robertson.

² The disputed clause, it will be noticed, begins at the opening of the 20th Article in the following terms: 'Habet Ecclesia ritus [sive ceremonias] statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis.' The two words in brackets, though represented in the English version, do not appear in the original Latin edition, nor in the transcript made in 1637 from the Convocation-records; nor (which is again remarkable) in the set of Articles, among the *State Papers*, as described above, p. 140, n. 5.

³ 'Domestic,' Vol. xxvii. § 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* § 41.

Nor (5) in the English Manuscript of Parker signed by the bishops in the Convocation of 1571.

Nor (6) in one Latin and one English edition, printed by Jugge and Cawood, in 1571.

On the other hand, it *is* found

(1) In an early Latin draft of the Articles, among the Elizabethan State Papers,¹ where it was inserted by the same hand, after the draft itself was made, so as to fill exactly one line.

(2) In the *Latin* edition of Reynold Wolfe, 1563, as expressly authorised by the Queen.

(3) In two or more English editions of Jugge and Cawood, 1571.

(4) In six or more English editions from 1581 to 1628; and in all subsequent copies.

(5) In the transcript made in 1637 from an original copy of the Articles, as deposited in the registry of the see of Canterbury.

Now those persons who maintain that the clause in question was foisted into the Articles without authority, either from the Convocation or the Crown, should recollect that the importance of the Manuscript evidence against it rests on the *assumption* that the documents now extant in the Parker Library present us with the ultimate form of the Articles,—the form in which they stood when finally passed by Convocation and sanctioned by the Crown; but (as both Strype and Bennet argue)² an assumption of this kind is utterly precluded (1) by the slovenly condition of the manuscripts themselves, (2) by their place in a *private* repository, and above all (3) by their deficiency in tokens which invariably appear in acts and instruments put forward under royal approbation.

With regard to those early *printed* copies in which the paragraph is also wanting, they are more than balanced by the weight and number of others in which it actually exists. On one side is the Latin text of 1563, the very earliest publication of the Articles, issuing from the press

¹ 'Domestic,' Vol. xxvii. § 41, A: cf. above, p. 140, n. 5.

² See references above, p. 134, n. 1, and compare *British Critic* (1829), pp. 96, 97.

of the Queen's printer, and containing her emphatic sanction; on the other, is an *English version* laying claim to no kind of authority, either civil or ecclesiastical, and if made, as there is every reason to believe, from the Parker Manuscript, entitled to no higher appreciation than the Manuscript itself.

But even if it be conceded that the printed evidence is equal, the fact that such a clause had been inserted in the Convocation-record, as attested by a public notary in 1637, is absolutely fatal to the plea that it had found its way into some printed copies in defiance both of civil and ecclesiastical authority. It may possibly have issued from the Synod at a later stage of their proceedings and before the Articles had been submitted to the Queen, or else, which is more likely, it might afterwards have been interpolated while the document was in the hands of the royal council; but no reasonable man will doubt the fairness of its claim to be regarded as a genuine portion of the copy which had long existed in the archives of St. Paul's cathedral, and which perished in the fire of 1666. The testimony of that record was produced upon the trial of archbishop Laud, in the most open and explicit manner, at a time when it was perfectly accessible to his accusers, or was rather in the hands of his infuriated enemies, and yet 'not one of them ever ventured to question the truth of the assertions, or attempted to invalidate the proofs on which his defence had rested.'¹

From these remarks on the revision of the Articles in 1563, we may proceed to the investigation of some further changes that befel them in the course of the Elizabethan

¹ *British Critic*, as above, p. 96. Attention is there drawn to the further statement of Archbishop Laud, that the contested clause was also found in the Articles subscribed by the lower house in 1571. Heylin, *Evamen Historicum*, in alluding to the same discussions, writes as follows (pp. 144, 145): 'Having occasion to consult the records of Convocation, I found this controverted clause, *verbatim*, in these following words: Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis autoritatem; where also it is worthy of notice, the two words, 'sive ceremonias,' are wanting. One of the stoutest opponents of the genuineness of the clause was Antony Collins, in his *Priestcraft in Perfection*, 1710, and also in a work entitled *Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX. Articles* (in reply to Bennet), 1724.

period. The last touches were applied on the assembling of Convocation in 1571; for then the series was reduced exactly to the form in which it is transmitted to ourselves, and also was imposed as a preliminary test on candidates for Holy Orders.

In the interval, however, that elapsed between the passing of the code in 1563 and its final ratification, it had not unfrequently been chosen as a subject of debate in the civil legislature, where attempts were made by sundry of the Commons to exact subscription from the clergy. For example, on the 5th of December, 1566, we read¹ that 'the bill with a *Little Book* printed in the year 1562,² (which was the fourth or fifth of her Majesty's reign) for the sound Christian religion, was read the first time.' The 'Little Book,' it is now universally conceded, was a copy of the Elizabethan Articles of Religion, and most probably the second English edition, in very small octavo, from the press of Jugge and Cawood.³ It is again mentioned in the 'Journals of Parliament,' on the 10th of December, when the bill which claimed for the new document a wider currency was read the second time.⁴ On the 13th of December, some fresh traces of it are detected; 'the bill, with the Articles printed 1562 for Christian Religion,' being passed at the third reading.⁵ On the next day (the 14th) it was sent up to the House of Lords, but there abruptly 'steyd by commandement from the Queen:' her reason being, as we learn from one of Parker's letters (Dec. 21, 1566), not that she disliked the 'doctrine of the Book of Religion, for that it containeth the religion which she

¹ D'Ewes, *Journals of Parliament*, p. 132, Lond. 1682.

² According to modern computation, 1563. Similar notices of it occur on subsequent days in the *Journals of the House of Commons*; and on reaching the Lords the entry in their *Journals* is: '*Die Sabbati, 14^o Decembris* (present Archbishop of York and seventeen Bishops) allate sunt due Bille a Domo Communi, *videlicet*. . . . An Act for Uniformity of Doctrine, que *prima vice* lecta est.'

³ It is reprinted in Dr. Lamb's publication, where it may be noted that although the 29th Article is wanting, the number is made 'nine and thirty,' by dividing the 6th Article into two portions.

⁴ D'Ewes, *ubi supra*.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 133.

doth openly profess, but the manner of putting forth the book.¹

The primate, and indeed the bishops generally, appear to have been most desirous of accelerating the course of this bill about Religion through the House of Lords; as we conclude from a petition or address² exhibited by them 'to the Queen's Majestye the 24th of Decembre anno 1566.' Although the credit or discredit of the measure was due entirely to the Lower House, the bishops urge that they accepted it as likely to produce a greater uniformity of faith and practice. They declare, that 'thapprobation of thies Articles by your Majestie shal be a verie good meane to establyshe and confirme all your Highnes subjects in one consent and unitie of true doctrine, to the great quiete and safetie of your Majestie and this your realm; whereas now for want of a playn certeintie of Articles of Doctrine by law to be declared, great distraction and dissention of myndes is at this present among your subjects, and dailie is like more and more to encrease, and that with verie great daunger in policie, the circumstances considered, if the said Boke of Articles be now steyd in your Majesties hand or (as God forbid) rejected.'

Their petition was, however, unavailing; for the Queen, immoveably resolved to guard what she considered her prerogative, cut short all further 'doings of the Commons' by dissolving Parliament on the 2nd of January. Her strong conviction at this period harmonized entirely with the message she sent down upon a similiar occasion, when the project for securing uniformity in religion was revived in 1571. 'She approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by Parliament;'³ and, with especial reference to the Articles, it was reported on the 1st of May, 'that the Queen's Majesty having been made privy to the said Articles, liketh very well of them and mindeth to publish them [*i.e.*, in a fresh edition], and have them executed by the bishops, by direction of

¹ Parker's *Corresp.* p. 291.

² Parker's *Corresp.* pp. 292 sq. Bennet, pp. 258—260. It is interlined in the handwriting of archbishop Parker, and is written in the name of 'the Archebyshope and Byshops of both the Provinces.'

³ D'Ewes, p. 185.

her Majesty's regal authority of supremacy of the Church of England, and not to have the same dealt in by Parliament.'

But, strange as it may be, the rigour which gave utterance to this magisterial language, speedily relaxed; and when the same measure had been introduced afresh into the House of Commons (April 7, 1571), and from thence transmitted to the Lords on the 3rd of May, Elizabeth was forced into compliance; and the bill,¹ entitled 'For the order of ministers,' or 'For the ministers of the Church to be of sound religion,' after passing the Upper House on the 21st, obtained her wavering assent on the 29th of the same month.

We may imagine that the fears awakened at that juncture by the partisans of Mary, Queen of Scots, the

¹ *Stat.* 13 Eliz. c. 12. It enacts 'by the authority of the present parliament, that every person under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by parliament in the time of the late king of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady, before the feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, shall, in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion: put forth by the Queen's authority.' It is enacted further, that a testimonial of such assent and subscription shall be procured from the bishops, and read together with the Articles in Church. The 'said Articles' are also ordered to be subscribed in the presence of the ordinary, and publicly read in Church by every one at his admission to a benefice. On disputes which have arisen as to the particular edition of the Articles referred to in this Act, see Dr. Lamb's *Hist. Acc.* p. 26; *British Critic*, as above, pp. 92, 93; and Dr. Swainson's *Essay on the History of Art. XXIX. and of the 13th Elizabeth*, c. 12, Camb. 1856. Dr. Swainson has brought out distinctly that the edition of the Articles mentioned in this Act could not have contained the 29th Article of the present series, which was only re-adopted by the bishops on May 11, 1571.

menacing attitude of early Puritanism, and, most of all, the excommunicatory bull,¹ which had just before been levelled at this nation by the Roman pontiff and had stimulated many Romanizers to fall off entirely from the Church,² would all have weight in mitigating the hostility of the Crown to parliamentary interference in religious matters: for nothing but extraordinary pressure could have reconciled a sovereign like Elizabeth to the abandonment of what she always felt to be the highest branch of the prerogative.

When it is further borne in mind that the series of measures on Church-affairs, in which the bill about the Articles stood foremost,³ were the work of a new party in the State, with puritanical and democratic leanings, the eventual acquiescence of Elizabeth is all the more surprising. One of the promoters of the Act of 1571 was 'an ancient gentleman of hot zeal,' named Strickland,⁴ who was bent on making further changes in the ritual Offices of the Church,⁵ and ventured even to propose the framing of

¹ See it in Camden's *Annales Eliz.* p. 183; ed. 1625. The true date is April 27, 1570.

² This was the origin of the Anglo-Romish schism. See Fullwood's *Roma Ruit*, Appendix (A), pp. 317, 318, ed. 1847. The number of such secessions was increased soon after by enforcing subscription to the Articles: for it was chiefly against persons ordained in the time of Mary that the Bill was pointed; and until the works of Davenport (Fran. à Sancta Clara) in the time of Charles I. no one attempted to reconcile the Anglican with the Tridentine standard of Christian orthodoxy.

³ In the original *Journal-Book*, it is called 'Bill A,' being one of a series of measures 'touching Religion and Church government' (D'Ewes, p. 185): but, as Dr. Swainson has pointed out, this 'Bill A' was 'dashed' by the Queen and replaced by 'Bill B,' 'For the order of Ministers,' which, although of precisely the same character and object, was finally assented to (May 29).

⁴ Strype, *Annals*, II. 63, 64. 'The Queen liked not all these proceedings, reckoning it struck at her prerogative. . . . So that during the time of Easter, in the holy-days, Strickland, for his exhibiting a bill for the reformation of ceremonies, and his speech thereupon, was sent for before the Lords of the Privy Council; and required to attend upon them: ' *Ibid.* In many minds the restraining of the Queen's prerogative was becoming more or less associated with the advancement of the Puritanic interest.

⁵ The 'sour leaven' of Puritanism, in reference to matters ritual, had already begun to work at Cambridge (see Dr. Lamb's *Collection*

a new Formulary of Faith upon the model of the Swiss Confessions.¹ Strickland was supported by Wentworth, another of the early Puritans; and when a deputation, of which Wentworth was a member, waited on the primate 'for answer touching matters of religion,' it was noticed that the version of the Articles which they were advocating dropped all mention of the Homilies, the Ordinal, and other topics which related to the hierarchy and ceremonial of the Church. The primate, startled by this change, desired an explanation; on which Wentworth declared that certain subjects were omitted from the series because the Commons had no time 'to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God.' 'What?' asked Parker; 'surely you mistook the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein,' *i.e.*, have recourse to the ecclesiastical authorities in the determination of such points. But Wentworth answered, 'No! by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were but to make you popes; make you popes who list, for we will make you none.'²

The language of the puritanical party both on this and other like occasions is in favour of a supposition not un-sanctioned by the wording of the Act itself, that in the confirmation of the Articles by parliament in 1571, it was intended to enforce subscription *only* to such statements as embrace the fundamental points of Christian faith and the true doctrine of the Sacraments; the fact that efforts had been made in the direction of some new Confession by the chief promoters of that measure being taken as corroboratory of the same hypothesis. But as the question will be re-considered at a later stage of our inquiry when we come to the historical notices of subscription, we shall here proceed to ascertain as far as possible the course pursued in reference to the Articles by members of the southern Convocation, which was sitting in connection with the Parliament of 1571.

of Letters, etc., p. 356), and in 1572 appeared the great manifesto of this party called the '*Admonition to the Parliament.*'

¹ Strype, *Ibid.* p. 66.

² D'Ewes, p. 239; Strype, *Annals*, II. 67. Wentworth's 'freedom' afterwards brought him into the custody of the sergeant.

The opening sermon was preached on April 3 by Dr. Whitgift, who, after dwelling at some length on the authority of synods, and the lawfulness of vestments and ecclesiastical decorations, adverted to the present enemies of the Church, whom he divided into Puritans and Papists.¹ As the preacher made no special reference to the Articles, much less to any changes in the series of 1563, it is most probable that the idea of re-considering them arose entirely from the agitations on the subject afterwards excited in the House of Commons. However, on the 7th of April, the very day when a string of bills concerning Religion was read in that House, an order had been issued from the primate,² enjoining that all members of the lower House of Convocation 'who had not formerly subscribed the Articles of Religion, agreed on in the year 1562 [1563], should subscribe them now, or upon their absolute refusal or delay (if such persons existed) that they should be wholly excluded from the house.' In deference to this order the 'Book of Articles' was read aloud and personally subscribed by members of both Houses; but no more is heard of it until the following month, when the deliberations of the Commons were harmoniously concluded, and their bill for legalising the Articles of Religion was already introduced into the House of Lords (May 3). As one result, we may conjecture, of this progress, and in order to multiply copies

¹ Bennet, p. 262. Burghley (Cecil) complains, in the same spirit, not long after (Sept. 11, 1573), of being 'bitten with a viperous generation of traitors, papists, and (he adds) I fear of some domestic hidden scorpions:' Parker's *Corresp.* p. 444.

² *Ibid.* Dr. Lamb thinks this order was directed against Cheynie, bishop of Gloucester (above, p. 133, n. 2), who was excommunicated for non-attendance at the synod, and afterwards absolved in the person of his proxy; but the terms of the order confine it to the members of the lower house. Camden speaks of Cheynie as 'most addicted to Luther,' probably on account of his doctrine of the Eucharist and his retention of pictures in churches. He refused, as we have seen, to subscribe the Articles in 1563: Strype, *Annals*, I. 563. Jewel, in writing to Bullinger (Feb. 4, 1567), refers both to Cheynie and others of his way of thinking: 'One alone of our number, the bishop of Gloucester, hath openly and boldly declared in Parliament his approval of Luther's opinion respecting the Eucharist, but this crop will not, I hope, be of long continuance: *Zurich Letters*, I. 185, 186.

of the formulary which might claim the definite sanction of the Church and correspond with the specification of the bill requiring the articles to be used in *English*, the bishops forthwith undertook a fresh revision of the whole series. Minutes to the following effect were thereupon inserted in the register of Convocation,¹ at its fifth session (May 4):

'Post tractatum aliquandiu inter Reverendissimum et confratres suos *secrete* habitum, tandem unanimiter convenit, ut sequitur; viz.: That when the Book of Articles touching Doctrine shall be fully agreed upon, that then the same shall be put in print by the appointment of my Lord of Sarum [Jewel], and a price rated for the same to be sold.'

'Item, That the same being printed, every bishop to have a competent number thereof, to be published in their synods throughout their several dioceses, and to be read in every parish-church four times² a year.'

At the next session (May 11), which was held at Lambeth, and was also strictly private, the bishops seem to have been anxiously engaged in fresh deliberations on the Book of Articles,³ and possibly with reference to the re-adoption of Article XXIX.;—a surmise which is countenanced and strengthened by the fact that on the same day an English Manuscript, surviving in the library of archbishop Parker,⁴ and containing the Article in question,

¹ Bennet, pp. 262, 263.

² Archbp. Parker had before enjoined the reading of them *twice* a year (Strype's *Parker*, App. p. 48), together with the 'Declaration' above mentioned (p. 117), which was also to be read *twice*. Grindal, A.D. 1571, makes the same order with regard to the 'Articles' (Cardwell's *Docum. Annals*, i. 370), and enjoins the use of them (A.D. 1576) when there was no sermon (*Ibid.* i. 401). They were also ordered to be read twice a year as late as the time of Charles II. (*Ibid.* ii. 308.)

³ Bennet, p. 263. The minute is remarkable: 'Episcopi in cœnaculo Lambethano congregati de et super rebus Ecclesiæ et Libro Articulorum de Doctrina, ut apparuit, *secrete semotis omnibus arbitris tractarunt.*'

⁴ An exact copy is contained in Dr. Lamb's publication, No. iv. It was probably a transcript from the *Little Book* (see above, p. 145), amended so as to meet the wishes of Parker and his friends; and so acting as an intermediate stage in the production of the document finally authorised. For the variations between it and the printed copies of 1571 imply that some further revision of it took place after

was subscribed by the primate and ten other bishops of the southern province.¹ The same subject may have possibly been re-considered in the eighth session on the 23rd of May; for then, we know, the prelates held another meeting of two hours' duration, and had thus an opportunity of sanctioning some emendations which had in the mean while been incorporated into both the Latin and the English texts.² But in the absence of all definite note of these proceedings, we can offer only guesses as to their precise character, until the Convocation was itself dissolved, in the tenth session, on the 30th of May.

It is natural to expect that the Articles in their revised condition would be finally submitted to both houses of Convocation and again be regularly subscribed. Such inference is implied or hinted in the royal ratification appended to editions both English and Latin, which were given to the public in the same year.³ But as the original copy, or copies, of the work have altogether perished, like the labours of the previous Convocation, we are now unable to determine the degree of unanimity by which this last revision was ultimately approved. Bennet⁴ draws attention to one copy of the Latin edition of 1563, accompanied by names of members of the lower house who had subscribed the Articles of Religion in the course of 1571; but

the 11th of May: Bennet, pp. 311—315. The same industrious writer shows that the 'Canons' of this year were, in like manner, authoritatively modified, *after* the subscriptions of the bishops were appended, pp. 345, 346.

¹ These were Robert (Horne) of Winchester, John (Scory) of Hereford, Richard (Cox) of Ely, Nicholas (Bolingham) of Worcester, John (Jewel) of Salisbury, Edmund (Guest) of Rochester, Nicholas (Robinson) of Bangor, Richard (Curteis) of Chichester, Thomas (Cooper) of Lincoln, William (Bradbridge) of Exeter. They describe themselves as follows: 'We, tharchbisshoppes and bisshoppes of *either* Province of this realme of Englande,' etc.;—intending, it may be, to forward a copy of the document to the northern Convocation (cf. above, p. 135). They also mention the Articles as 'thirty-eight' in number, two, viz. the 35th and 36th (respecting the Homilies and the Ordinal), being in this copy united in one Article.

² Bennet, chap. xxii. *passim*.

³ The Latin, 'apud Johannem Dayum, typographum. An. Domini, 1571:' the English, 'at London in Powles Churchyard, by Richarde Ingge and John Cawood, Printers to the Queenes Maiestie, in Anno Domini, 1571.'

⁴ Chap. xx.

there is reason for believing that the time at which those signatures had been appended was the earlier part of April, when, as we have seen, the representatives were ordered to subscribe as an initial step on pain of exclusion from the Synod. Still, the fact that one whole Article, the 29th, as well as a variety of minor changes, were henceforward to be absolutely enforced on all the clergy, would doubtless have suggested the propriety of submitting the Formulary to both Houses when the task of revision was completed; so that, much as we deplore the loss of the original document, we are entitled to believe that the particular version of the Articles eventually ordered to be 'holden and executed' by the ratification of the Queen, was duly sanctioned, like its predecessor, by the Church-authorities.

It is worthy of especial notice that neither in this royal sanction, nor the Book of Canons, passed in the later sessions of the present Synod and stipulating¹ that all candidates for holy orders shall henceforward sign the Articles, do we discern the slightest reference to the Act of Parliament by which the code of doctrine had been previously incorporated into the statutes of the realm. This silence, on the part of Queen Elizabeth, is readily explained by her unflinching maintenance of what she deemed the true prerogative of the Crown; while on the part of bishops and

¹ 'Quivis minister Ecclesiæ, antequam in sacram functionem ingrediatur, subscribet omnibus Articulis de religione Christiana, in quos consensus est in synodo; et publice ad populum, ubicunque episcopus jusserit, patefaciet conscientiam suam, quid de illis Articulis, et universa doctrina sentiat.' Cardwell, *Synod.* i. 120. And in the famous canon 'Concionatores,' after declaring, that preachers shall never teach anything as matter of faith except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and which Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of the same doctrine, it is added: 'Et quoniam Articuli illi religionis Christianæ, in quos consensus est ab episcopis in legitima et sancta synodo, jussu atque autoritate serenissimæ principis Elizabethæ convocata et celebrata, haud dubie collecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, et cum cœlesti doctrina, quæ in illis continetur, per omnia congruunt; quoniam etiam liber publicarum precum et liber de inauguratione archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, presbyterorum et diaconorum nihil continent ab illa ipsa doctrina alienum; quicunque mittentur ad docendum populum illorum Articulorum autoritatem et fidem, non tantum concionibus suis, sed etiam subscriptione confirmabunt.' *Ibid.* 127. Cf. 'Articuli per archiepiscopum etc. in Synodo,' 1584, *Ibid.* i. 141.

clergy, it had risen from a strong dislike to recognise distinctions, which to all appearance had been sanctioned in the Act of Parliament, between doctrinal and other Articles. Both Queen and clergy were beginning to foresee most clearly that the intermeddling of the House of Commons, in the province of theology, was intimately connected at that period with the growth of democratic elements, and might result, if not abated by the application of more vigorous checks, in the subversion both of throne and altar. As early as 1573, the two archbishops in a joint communication had the foresight to declare: 'In the platform of these new builders, we evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, a popular state to be sought. The end will be ruin to religion and confusion to our country.'¹

Actuated by forebodings of this kind, the Convocation was so far from bending under the attacks of Wentworth and his party, that the Articles on issuing from this last review had suffered none of the threatened mutilations, nor indeed experienced any formidable change. The twenty-ninth (as we have seen already) was inserted now in every copy; and the clause affirming the authority of the Church in controversies of faith, though wanting in the draft subscribed on May 11 by the eleven bishops, as also in the *English* edition of 1563, on which that Manuscript was modelled,² is found in all the English copies of 1571 which have the slightest claim to be regarded as authentic.³ The disputed clause is wanting, it is true, in one *Latin* edition of 1571, printed by John Day; but, on the contrary, it seems to have existed in other copies,⁴ in the same language, of the same date, and by the same printer;

¹ Parker's *Corresp.* p. 434. He expressed the same forebodings in 1566 (pp. 284, 285), and also afterwards (p. 437).

² Bennet, p. 336.

³ *Ibid.* c. xxiv. This point is proved from a minute correspondence between an English copy (in Bennet's work marked E) and the language of a letter of Archbishop Parker (dated June 4, 1571, *i.e.*, immediately after the close of the Convocation). In *this* edition, authenticated by the allusion of the primate, the disputed clause is found.

⁴ *e.g.*, in the Latin edition, by John Day, printed in Bp. Sparrow's *Collection*, which differs in three other material particulars from the extant copy of Day's edition.

so that whether we attribute the omission to design or accident, to the unscrupulous intrigues of Leicester¹ and his Puritan allies, or the timidity of Bishop Jewel,² the editor appointed by the Synod to superintend the publication of the Articles, there can be little doubt of its synodical adoption at that time, and none whatever of its universal obligation³ since the year 1605.

The other changes which are met with in the authorised versions of this period will be afterwards exhibited more fully:⁴ it is here sufficient to observe that they have left the character impressed upon the Articles in 1563 entirely unaffected. They are either emendations in the wording of thirteen titles, or corrections introduced into the English from the older Latin copy, or occasional explanations of phraseology believed to have been capable of misconstruction. One *positive* addition will be found in the completed list of the 'Apocryphal' writings, now appended to the sixth Article.

There is, however, an important consideration belonging to this stage of our inquiry, which has been suggested partly by the fact that we possess the Articles of 1571 in two forms, English and Latin. Are, then, these two versions equally authentic, or, in the event of discrepancies⁵

¹ Fuller speaks of him as the 'patron-general of non-subscribers;' and there can be no doubt as to his violent dislike of Parker and the more conservative Reformers. Parker's *Corresp.* p. 472.

² This is the supposition of Mr. Soames, *Elizabethan Hist.* p. 152. If any such omission was made by that prelate, he clearly exceeded the powers which had been granted by the synod: for so far from constituting him an irresponsible reviser the order was that his duty of editor commence 'when the Articles shall be fully agreed upon.'

³ The disputed clause occurs in the English copy of the Articles subscribed by the Southern Convocation in 1604, and by the Northern in 1605. It enters therefore into the series contemplated by the 36th canon.

⁴ See Append. No. III., where the Articles, in this their final shape, are printed at length in Latin and English, by the side of the Forty-two Articles, together with collations of the most authentic copies of 1563.

⁵ A few such variations have been pointed out: e.g., in the ninth Article, the English, 'for them that believe and are baptized'—the Latin, '*renatis et credentibus*;' and just before, the English, 'there be no condemnation'—the Latin, '*nulla propter Christum est condemnatio*.' Similarly, in the twelfth Article, the English, 'follow

between them, which may be regarded as of paramount authority?

This question is so clearly and succinctly answered by Waterland in his 'Supplement to the case of Arian Subscription,' that his language may with great advantage be transferred to our own pages: 'As to the Articles, English and Latin, I may just observe for the sake of such readers as are less acquainted with these things; *first*, that the Articles were passed, recorded, and ratified in the year 1562 [1563], and *in Latin only*. *Secondly*, that those Latin Articles were revised and corrected by the Convocation of 1571. *Thirdly*, that an authentic English translation was then made of the Latin Articles by the same Convocation, and the Latin and English adjusted as nearly as possible. *Fourthly*, that the Articles thus perfected *in both languages* were published the same year, and by the royal authority. *Fifthly*, subscription was required the same year to the English Articles, called the Articles of 1562, by the famous act of the 13th of Elizabeth.

'These things considered—I might justly say, with Bishop Burnet, that the Latin and English are both *equally authentic*. Thus much, however, I may certainly infer, that if in any places the English version be ambiguous, where the Latin original is clear and determinate, the Latin ought to fix the more doubtful sense of the other, (as also *vice versa*.) it being evident that the Convocation, Queen, and Parliament intended the same sense in both.'¹

Another and more general class of questions cannot fail to have been prompted in the course of the investigation now drawing to a close. We saw in every step how intimate as well as constant was the sympathy or correspondence between the structure of the English Articles and the condition of the Church of England at the time of their compilation and revision. Now this fact, attested as it is not only in contemporaneous writings, but in all

after justification'—the Latin, 'justificatos sequuntur.' The English heading of Art. XVIII. is, 'Of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ;' the Latin is, 'Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est æterna salus.' In Art. XXV. the Latin words, 'quomodo nec Pœnitentia,' have no English equivalent.

¹ Works, II. 816, 817. Oxf. 1843.

successive titles of the document itself, may fairly be invoked to modify our judgment with regard to its distinctive character and office as a test of Christian truth. The Articles, if viewed under one aspect, were *pacificatory*: they strove by silence, or at least by general statements, to divert and calm the speculations of the English clergy on mysterious and scholastic questions which remain unsolved in Holy Scripture, and transcend the present limits of the human understanding. On the other hand those Articles were meant to be *denunciatory*; plain and positive errors were unsparingly rebuked. Criteria had been there provided, so that advocates alike of Romanism and Anabaptism, Papist and fanatic, Puritan and Zwinglian 'sacramentary,' were all excluded from the office of public teachers in the Church of England. But a clear perception of these characteristic traits is absolutely fatal to the argument which labours to exalt the Articles of 1571 into a full and systematic body of theology—reaching to all topics and sufficient for all times. The Articles may claim to be, and are, an adequate exponent of the Church's mind with reference to the questions which they rule *affirmatively*; but in cases where they merely censure some obnoxious form of misbelief or of malpractice, without accurately defining truths of which those errors are corruptions, or distortions, or negations, we must seek for the whole teaching of the Church of England on such topics in a somewhat different quarter—in the Prayer-Book and other writings which have been invested with a like authority.¹

Such has ever been the language held by those who in the sixteenth century, as well as in all subsequent crises, have stood forward as our champions against error

¹ It is worthy of note that in the year 1675, during the discussions on the Test-Bill, Lord Shaftesbury (the profligate leader of what were then called the 'low-churchmen') asked in the house of peers, 'How much is meant by the Protestant Religion?' Whereupon several bishops explained, 'that the Protestant Religion is comprehended in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons of the Church of England.' Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, III. 323. Cf. the language of the prolocutor in the Convocation of 1689; Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 445, Oxf. 1841.

on the right hand and the left. *Their* judgment as to the true province of the Articles is quite in harmony with memorable words of bishop Pearson, who, like older prelates, while encountering the arts and malice of the Church of Rome, had also to do battle with an opposite party who were panting after the more perfect 'reformation of the public doctrine.'¹ He remarks, most truly, that on the Puritan hypothesis, the Book of Articles must always seem irregular and *defective*, and then adds the following weighty answer to the prevalent mistake. That Book, he says, 'is not, nor is pretended to be, a complete body of divinity, or a comprehension and explication of all Christian doctrines necessary to be taught; but an enumeration of some truths, which upon and since the Reformation have been denied by some persons; who upon their denial are thought unfit to have any cure of souls in this Church or realm; because they might by their opinions either infect their flock with error, or else disturb the Church with schism, or the realm with sedition.'²

We shall next endeavour to describe the framing of some kindred documents which serve to throw especial light on the interpretation of the earlier series; and shall then present the reader with some sketches of the efforts made in various schools of misbelief, to alter its contents or to unsettle its authority.

¹ *No Necessity of Reformation*: 'Minor Works,' II. 169; ed. Churton.

² *Answer to Burges*, Ibid. II. 215.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAMBETH ARTICLES.

OF all the ancient 'clerks,' whom leaders of the Reformation-movement had continued to regard with a peculiar deference, none was so conspicuous and commanding as the bishop of Hippo-Regius,—the incomparable Augustine. In the writings both of 'Swiss' and 'Saxon' theologians, Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, the time-honoured name of St. Augustine constantly recurs: while the profuse citations from his works which meet us everywhere in studying the productions of our own Reformers,¹ testify how much of confidence they also had reposed in his authority, and their delight in his sacred learning.

It is not to be disguised, however, that in spite of this determination to enthrone Augustine as *the* doctor of the West, some portions of his theological system were at variance with the corresponding statements of other and still earlier Fathers.² The portentous controversies which were kindled in all quarters by the zeal of the Pelagian party drove him to reflect more deeply on the nature and necessity of Grace; and the direction of these grand investigations, coinciding with the bias of his natural temperament, conducted him ere long to the ulterior problem, which attempts to reconcile the truth of God's supreme fore-knowledge with the parallel fact of individual freedom, and the consciousness in man of his own moral

¹ Their reverence for him has been made the ground of animadversion by Bp. Horsley, *Sermon* on 1. St. Peter iii. 18—20, who thinks that the change made in the Article on our Lord's descent into Hades (1563) was owing to doubts which had been entertained by St. Augustine as to the import of this passage.

² Faber, *Primitive Doctrines of Election*, i. 96—111, Lond. 1836: Blunt, *Sketch of the Church*, Sermon iv. pp. 167—177, Camb. 1836. This discord or divergence did not escape the criticism of Bp. Gardiner, *Declaration* (against Joye), fol. lxxix.

responsibility. The treasures both of wisdom and experience thus accumulated by Augustine in a long and painful process of inquiry furnished a most copious stock of theses for the mock-encounters of the schools, as well as ample food for some of the more philosophic spirits of the Middle Ages;¹ and from thence it was that Calvin, in the second generation of Reformers, had rejoiced² to draw materials for the masterly system of theology which he bequeathed to a succession of disciples and admirers.

The extent to which our English Reformation was affected by peculiarities associated with the name of Calvin has been often made a matter of debate. It may be true, as some have argued, that his first *distinct* avowal of the doctrines here considered can be traced no further back than 1551;³ and therefore that the compilation of our Articles and Prayer-Book cannot possibly bear any impress of the 'Calvinistic' modes of thought: but nevertheless if it be

¹ 'Of predestination and reprobation, it is our part to speak advisedly. But that the only will of God is the cause of reprobation, being taken as it is contrary to predestination, not only St. Paul and St. Augustine, but the best and learnedest schoolmen have largely and invincibly proved.' Dr. Whitaker to the Archbishop, in Strype's *Whitgift*, App. No. xxv. p. 200. For the interesting disputes on these questions at the Council of Trent, see Sarpi, i. 367, sqq. On the contemporaneous agitation of the same topics among our own Reformers, see above, p. 100; and on Luther's earlier controversy with Erasmus, see Hardwick's *Reform*. p. 44.

² *Instit.* Lib. III. c. 22, § 8, where, however, he disingenuously affirms that St. Augustine claimed the support of the other Fathers; the fact being that Augustine appeals only to three writers of the age before his own: Faber's *Doctrine of Election*, ubi sup.

³ Archbp. Laurence, *Serm.* II. note (14). The name of Calvin was, however, well known in England before this period, for, as we have seen, he was of the number invited to take part in the religious 'Conference' projected as early as 1549: see above, pp. 70. sq. His *Institutio* had, moreover, been circulating since the year 1536; and there is no good reason for maintaining that his original view of election was very different from that finally developed. It is curious that one of the first strictures passed upon him, by an English reformer, occurs in a letter of Hooper to Bucer (dated Zürich, June 19, 1548): 'I do not rightly understand what you write respecting Calvin. I had never any intention of using my pen either against him or Farrell, although his commentaries on the first Epistle to the Corinthians displeased me exceedingly.' Original Letters, ed. P. S. p. 48.

granted that his teaching on Election and the other cognate questions was identical with that of St. Augustine, both the Articles and other Formularies of the Church may still have been considerably tinctured with 'Calvinism,' though such admixture was not actually derived from treatises of Calvin.

This identity, however, will no longer be maintained by any one who makes himself familiar with the systems of theology as fabricated in the schools of Hippo and Geneva: for, extensively as Calvinists have been indebted to their African predecessor, they have so exaggerated various portions of his teaching, and have so curtailed or contradicted others, that in spite of similarity of language a profound if not a fundamental change is frequently observable on comparing the positions of the ancient and the modern doctor. For example, as one proof of such diversity we may select the doctrine of 'final perseverance,' or the inadmissibility of regenerating grace. In both those systems it was equally contended that a remnant only of the human family are made partakers of the special gift which schoolmen term the 'grace of perseverance:' yet Augustine uniformly held that other persons, not included in this remnant, may be verily regenerate and actually possessed of living faith in Christ, which notwithstanding they will forfeit altogether; while Calvin, who identified the gifts of perseverance and regeneration, had been driven to deny the possibility of spiritual life except in those whom a Divine decree had also irreversibly exempted from the chance of ultimate perdition.¹ In the

¹ Cf. the Augustinian Treatise, *De Correctione et Gratia*, c. 6 and c. 13, or *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, c. 14, with Calvin's *Institutio*, Lib. III. c. 24, § 6. It is very observable that this distinction was keenly felt at the compiling of the Lambeth Articles; for in the emendations of Whitaker's theses by the archbishop and his colleagues, an important change was made in Art. V.: 'In autographo Whitakeri verba erant "in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt," pro quibus a Lambethanis substituta sunt, "in electis,"—sensu planè alio et ad mentem Augustini; cum in autographo sint ad mentem Calvinii. Augustinus enim opinatus est, veram fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur, per quam contingit adoptio, justificatio et sanctificatio, posse et intercidi et amitti; fidem vero esse commune donum electis et reprobis, sed perseverantiam electis propriam: Calvinus

Augustinian system there was left a positive check upon the desolating influence of presumption and the tendency to recklessness and desperation: in the Calvinistic system, where both justifying and regenerating grace were held to be not given excepting to the finally saved, we need not wonder if the feeling of responsibility for human actions had been seriously endangered.

It is probable, indeed, that no forebodings of this kind had been suggested to the refugees, who had found shelter on the continent from the Marian persecutions, beneath the hospitable roofs of 'Calvinistic' reformers, and had on their return been chiefly instrumental in the opening of disputes still agitated in the Church of England. In the number of such exiles, which was very considerable, we can recognize a large majority of those who, from the special nature and emergency of the times, had been advanced on the accession of Elizabeth to some of the most honourable positions in their native country. The effects of their association with the leading Swiss reformers are especially visible if we contrast their future bearing with the conduct of a smaller band of scholars, such as Alley, Guest, and Parker, who had never crossed the seas. These latter were in almost every case untainted by the disciplinary scruples of their brethren, and, still more, evinced no tenderness for the extreme opinions on dogmatic points, which not a few of the 'predestinarian zealots' had imbibed from the instruction of their foreign masters.¹ Parker and his friends were acting as conservative

autem, veram et justificantem fidem *solis* salvandis et electis contingere.' See Append. No. v. Hutton, Archbishop of York, suggested an alteration in Art. VI., on the ground that as it stood it was opposed to St. Augustine, who taught, 'Reprobi quidem vocati justificati, per lavacrum regenerationis renovati sunt, et tamen exeunt' etc. Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 461, ed. 1718. Cf. the Augsburg Confession, Part i. § 12; where, notwithstanding the uniform reverence for St. Augustine, the notion that 'persons once justified cannot lose the Holy Spirit,' is denounced as an error of the 'Anabaptists.' This charge seems to have been actually made against the Cambridge 'Calvinists' in 1595: Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 434.

¹ Some of these did not blush to say, that 'all evil springeth of God's ordinance, and that God's predestination was the cause of Adam's fall, and of all wickedness.' See other instances in Heylin, *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 243, Oxf. 1670.

elements amid the heavings of a stormy and most anxious period, when continual struggles were made 'to throw off the godly orders of the Church,' or 'break in pieces those constitutions on which it was established;' and had no such better elements survived, 'it would in all probability have never been able to have subsisted afterwards.'¹ The wider introduction of the doctrines of Geneva might have easily paved a way for its 'pretended holy discipline,' and thus the fears expressed at the conclusion of the sixteenth century by men like Hooker might ere long have been accomplished.

It is likely that the reverence felt on every side for the authority of St. Augustine had continued to facilitate the circulation of strong 'Calvinian' tenets, or, at least, disarm the indignation and hostility of some who could not fail to have foreseen the consequences into which those tenets might be pushed by their less scrupulous admirers. It was taxing all the courage and sobriety of Parker,² and a few of his more trusty coadjutors, to resist the constant efforts of the 'Swiss' party, who were anxious to infuse a more distinctively Genevan spirit into all our public Formularies. As early as 1559, when many of the exiles just returning to their homes presented a declaration of their doctrine to Elizabeth, they laid particular stress upon the tenet of Predestination,³ as 'a thing fruitful and profitable to be known,' appealing also to the high example of St. Augustine; yet the reader will have looked in vain for any mention of that tenet in the Eleven Articles,—the test which was, immediately after, put in circulation both in this and in the sister island; and in 1563, on the revision of the Edwardine Formulary, it is noticeable that the

¹ Strype's Observations on Archbp. Parker; *Life*, p. 543.

² See a curious account of one Richard Kechyn, whom the archbishop preferred, 'charging him not to preach controversial sermons on the Divine Counsels,' in Mr. Haweis' *Sketches of the Reformation*, p. 95. The obedient clerk was afterwards rebuked for his silence by one of the itinerant preachers, who declared that 'Predestination should and ought to be preached in every sermon and in every place, before all congregations, as the only doctrine of salvation,' etc.

³ See above, p. 117, n. 1, and Strype's *Annals*, i. 116. They admit, however, that 'in this our corrupt age' discreet ministers should speak 'sparely and circumspectly' of such matters.

language¹ of the Article on Predestination was in one point softened or restrained, instead of having contracted the more rigorous tone which through the zeal and energy of the exiles was pervading the great body of the Church of England.

Yet the controversy, in which that doctrine always stood conspicuous, had continued rather to increase than to diminish with the lapse of the Elizabethan period: and indeed it may be confidently affirmed that during an interval of nearly thirty years the more *extreme* opinions of the school of Calvin, not excluding his theory of irrespective reprobation, were predominant in almost every town and parish. Calvin thus became, if we may use the pointed parallel of Hooker,² what the 'Master of the Sentences' had been in the more palmy period of scholasticism; 'so that the perfectest divines were judged they which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings.' Even the repulsive dictum³ 'which speaks little better of our gracious God than this, that God should design many thousands of souls to hell before they were, not in eye to their faults, but to His own absolute will and power,'—was grown, to cite the burning words of Harsnet, in 1584, 'high and monstrous, and like a Goliah, and,' he continues, 'men do shake and tremble at it; yet never a man reacheth to David's sling to cast it down. In the name of the Lord of

¹ For instance, one clause, 'although the *decrees of predestination are unknown* unto us,' was then dropped; and instead of the naked reference to election 'out of mankind,' the Article of 1563 speaks of election '*in Christ* out of mankind.'

² 'Pref.' to *Eccles. Pol.* chap. ii. § 8. In a MS. note of Hooker on *A Christian Letter*, etc., he asks ironically, 'What should the world doe with the old musty doctors? Alleage Scripture, and show it alleaged in the sense that Calvin alloweth, and it is of more force in any man's defense, and to the prooffe of any assertion, than if ten thousand Augustines, Jeromes, Chrysostomes, Cyprians, or whosoever els were brought forth. Doe we not daily see that men are accused of heresie for holding that which the Fathers held, and that they never are cleere, if they find not somewhat in Calvin to justify themselves?' *Ibid.* note (83), ed. Keble.

³ Calvin himself says, '*horribile quidem decretum fateor*,' in contemplating his own theory of reprobation. *Instit. Lib. III. c. 23, § 7.*

Hosts, we will encounter it; for it hath reviled not the host of the living God but the Lord of Hosts.¹

Such, therefore, was the general aspect of the popular theology, with reference to the dogma of absolute predestination, when the party, then in the ascendant, made a vigorous effort to perpetuate their system, by compiling an important string of definitions which have since been commonly entitled the 'Lambeth Articles.'

The origin of this new movement may be traced, with more or less exactness, to the rigorous 'Calvinism' of Dr. Whitaker, the foremost of polemicists in his time, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Aided by two others, Chadderton and Perkins,² the latter of whom had always been distinguished for his reckless theorizing on these subjects, Whitaker began to publish a crusade for checking the advances of 'Pelagianism and Popery,'—two names by which it was the fashion to describe all kinds of teaching which was held to vary from the 'Calvinistic' standard. At the head of the opposing or remonstrant party was the Margaret Professor of Divinity, Baro (Baron), of French extraction, who, as a Reformer, fled for refuge to this country at an early period of his life, and by the favour of Burghley (Cecil) was promoted to a chair at Cambridge, in 1574 or 1575. Although his gentle and retiring spirit indisposed him for this kind of warfare, Baro seems to have stood forward manfully in opposition to extravagancies then advocated by his brother professor, and espoused by a majority of the senior members of the Senate. His lectures, also, had a tendency to lower the exorbitant value which was set upon the writings of the Swiss reformers: and exactly as a generation of students, moulded by his teaching, had been gradually replacing the

¹ Quoted in Heylin, *Histor. Quinqu-Articul.* Part III. ch. xvii. § 4. There are two theses of Harsnet among the Harleian MSS., No. 3142, pp. 107 sq. The titles are: 'Nemo necessario damnatur,' and 'Certitudo uniuscujusque salutis non est certitudo fidei.'

² His *Armilla Aurea*, containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation, was published in 1592, for the use of students, and tended, perhaps, more than the writings of the other party, to damage the character of 'Calvinism' by pushing some of its more startling principles into their logical results.

admirers of Calvin and Bullinger, the 'Institutio,' the 'Decades' and a host of similar text-books were exchanged for volumes of the Fathers and occasionally of the Schoolmen.¹

Not long after the arrival of Baro at Cambridge he had ventured to maintain distinctly, from the history of the Ninevites, that 'it is the will of God we should have eternal life, if we believe and persevere in the faith of Christ; but if we do not believe, or believing only for a time, do not persevere, then it is not the will of God we should be saved.'² And further expositions of this doctrine are still extant in a 'concio ad clerum' which he preached in 1595, on the occasion when the Lambeth Articles were first projected. He was ready to uphold these three assertions: (1) 'That God created all men according to His own likeness in Adam, and so consequently, to eternal life; from which He chased no man, unless because of sin. (2) That Christ died sufficiently for all, showing that the denial of this doctrine is contrary to the Confession of the Church of England, and the Articles approved by the Parliament of this kingdom, and confirmed by the Queen's authority. (3) That the promises of God made to us, as they are *generally* propounded to us, were to be generally understood, as it is set down in the seventeenth Article'³ ['*generaliter* propositæ'].⁴

In spite, however, of the moderation of these statements and the 'modest' way in which they are reported to have been delivered, the unfortunate professor was cited before

¹ In a report of the Vice-Chancellor and others to Whitgift, who had sanctioned their search into private rooms and studies at Cambridge (Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 438), it is even mentioned, that things had already come to such a pass, that 'instead of godly and sound writers, among their stationers, the new writers were very rarely bought; and that there were no books more ordinarily bought and sold than popish writers,' etc.

² *Prælect in Jonam Prophetam*, p. 217: Lond. 1579.

³ Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 466. See also his 'Orthodox Explanation of the nine propositions concluded upon at Lambeth.' *Ibid.* App. No. xxvi. and the 'Assertions' of his accusers, *Ibid.* 470. Their great objection was to his doctrine of 'universal redemption.' See on this latter a discussion of Baro's, entitled *Cur fructus mortis Christi ad omnes Adami posterios non perveniat*, among the *Camb. Univ. MSS.* Gg. I. 29, fol. 46 sq. (date circ. 1594).

the Vice-Chancellor of the University (Dr. Goade): and though proceedings then instituted were eventually stopped by the good office of his patron Burghley, Baro could not be induced to offer himself for re-election (1596).¹

But while a genial friend of Overall and Andrewes, and the able champion of English orthodoxy, was thus driven from his post by the intolerant zeal of the 'Calvinian' party, a fresh victim, second to him both in age and reputation, was exciting their activity and ardour to a still more feverish pitch. William Barrett as a fellow of Caius College, and one of the warmest spirits in the number who 'liked not Calvin's scheme.' A 'concio ad clerum,' preached by him at Great St. Mary's church on the 29th of April,² 1595, contained a strong if not a virulent attack upon the popular theology; in which, besides denying in emphatic terms the indefectibility of grace and the received doctrine of assurance, he indulged in a succession of disparaging reflections on Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, and others, all of whom had sanctioned the idea of irrespective, unconditioned, reprobation.³ Soon after the delivery of this sermon the offender was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges, and was urged by them at several meetings to retract expressions which had given offence. He finally consented to this course, and on the 10th of May recited in St. Mary's church a form of recantation⁴ which had been provided by the University authorities, if not by Dr. Whitaker himself. The hollowness and insincerity of this act, like many of the similar recantations in all ages, was immediately apparent; and as early as the 26th of the same month the old disputes had been re-opened by the 'Calvinistic' members of the Senate, who presented a memorial to the Vice-Chancellor and his

¹ Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 473.

² Heylin, *Hist. Quinqu-Artic.* Part III. c. 20, § 6, 7.

³ Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 436: and cf. Bk. IV. App. No. xxiii.

⁴ *Ibid.* App. No. xxii. It is observable in this form of recantation, that Barrett was taught to discern the doctrine of reprobation in the XVIIth Article; although Whitaker in writing to the archbishop is more cautious. His words are, 'For the points of doctrine, we are fully persuaded, that Mr. Barrett hath taught untruth, if not against the Articles, yet against the religion of our Church, publicly received,' etc. *Ib.* Bk. IV. No. xxv.

colleagues, denouncing Barrett's sermon on the ground that it 'savoured of Popish doctrine in the whole course and tenour thereof,' and censuring the 'unreverend manner' in which it was withdrawn.

The quarrel, appertaining as it did to academic rather than episcopal jurisdiction, was now carried by both parties to Whitgift, archbishop of Cante.bury. A letter of the heads of colleges (bearing date June 12) complained of Barrett's misbehaviour, and denounced his teaching as injurious to the worthy learned men of our times,' as 'strongly savouring of the leaven of Popery,' and as 'contrary to the doctrine of the nature of faith set forth in the Articles of Religion and Homilies, appointed to be read in Churches.'¹ Barrett, on the other hand, appealed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Primate, alleging that his fierce opponents were no more than a puritanical faction in the University, for that many of the residents who studied truth and peace refused to join the present persecution. He admitted that in preaching he had handled Calvin roughly, but reserved his strongest censures for a work of Perkins,—'On the Apostles' Creed,'—which, notwithstanding the denial in it of an article of the faith,² had not, as he complained, been hitherto discountenanced or forbidden by any of the academical authorities. On these and other grounds he prayed that Whitgift would interpose in his behalf and save him from the further malice of his enemies, who had already punished him severely by stopping his degree.³

The first impressions of the Primate seem to have been favourable to the cause of the appellant. In a message to the Vice-Chancellor and heads of houses, he condemned the hot precipitation of their late proceedings, and asserted his own right to sit in judgment on this class of questions. He objected more particularly that some portions of the retraction they had forced on Barrett were 'contrary to the doctrine holden and expressed by many sound and learned

¹ Strype, *Whitgift*, pp. 437, 438.

² Alluding to the article on the 'descent into Hell,' which Calvinists, and Perkins with them, expounded of our Lord's mental sufferings in the place of the damned.

³ Strype, *Ibid.* pp. 438, 439.

divines¹ in the Church of England,' and positions which, for his own part, he rejected as 'false and contrary to the Scriptures.' On alluding to the contumelious language in which Barrett animadverted on the Calvinistic writers, he expressed his utter disapprobation of it, adding that he 'did not allow the same towards Augustine, Jerome, and other learned Fathers, which nevertheless had often been abused in the University without control. And yet,' he proceeded, 'if a man would have occasion to control Calvin for his bad and unchristian censure of King Henry the VIII., or him and others in that peremptory and false reproof of the Church of England in divers points, and likewise in some other singularities, he knew no Article of Religion against it. Much less did he know any cause why men should be violently dealt withal for it, or termed ungodly, popish, impudent. For the doctrine of the Church of England did in no respect depend upon them.'²

Emboldened by the measure of success which had resulted from this application, or apprehensive lest his enemies in Cambridge would have strength enough remaining to deprive him of his fellowship, Barrett next proceeded to solicit from the Primate a more formal statement of the truths then controverted in the University of Cambridge. Many of the heads of colleges in the meanwhile had been starting an objection with regard to the Archbishop's right of interference in matters like the present, so that owing to

¹ One of these was Hooker's bosom-friend Saravia, and a favourite of Whitgift. He was frequently at Lambeth and wrote (apparently for the Archbishop) a *Censure of Barrett's Retraction*, Ibid. Bk. iv. App. xxiv. It is a sober and elaborate production, breathing far more the spirit of Augustine than of Calvin, and quoting the former authority throughout. He concludes by censuring the acrimonious language of Barrett, and by declaring: 'Fuerunt et sunt adhuc hodie in diversis ecclesiis quamplures fideles Christi servi bene de Ecclesia meriti, qui non idem de prædestinatione sentiunt, qui tamen se mutua charitate fuerunt amplexi, nec ullius sese mutuo hæreseos insimulant,' p. 198.—There is also a *Censura Censuræ D. Barreti*, among the *Minor Works* of Bp. Andrews, Oxford, 1846: pp. 301 sqq. It is confined, however, to one point, *viz.*, the certainty of salvation, which Whitaker and his school maintained. In the same place will be found the 'Judgment' of Bp. Andrewes touching the Lambeth Articles.

² Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 441. See another example of his independence on these subjects in Nicolas's *Life of Hatton*, p. 487.

the warmth evoked by this collateral disputation, it seemed likely that the case of Barrett would be thrown into the background, if not utterly forgotten.

Whitaker, however, had been now induced to mediate between the three contending parties. The great service rendered by him to the Church in answering the objections of Cardinal Bellarmine placed him high in the opinion of Archbishop Whitgift, while the moderate and conciliatory tone which he adopted at this stage of the dispute contributed still more to the promotion of his general object. He no longer ventured to assert that the opinions of Barrett flatly contradicted the language of the Articles; he even went so far as to concede that many of the controverted points 'were not concluded and defined by public authority;' ¹ yet, pleading that the Church had been most violently disturbed, and that opinions of his adversary were both novel and offensive, he requested the Archbishop to employ his influence in exacting from the culprit a more ample recantation.

A comparative lull now followed for some weeks; but in the month of September the whole question was revived by the 'Calvinian' heads of houses, who forwarded a dutiful communication to the Primate, urging him to institute a far more rigorous inquiry into the opinions of Barrett, in order that the scandal which had been occasioned 'not only to malicious enemies but also to weak professors' might at length be done away.² In deference to this wish a string of pointed questions³ 'nicely propounded and suited criti-

¹ Strype, *Whitgift*, App. No. xxv. p. 199: cf. the remarks of Dr. Waterland on this letter; *Works*, II. 343, 344. Oxf. 1843.

² Strype, *Ibid.* pp. 451, 452. In this document they characterize the positions of Barrett as 'contrary to the doctrine of our Church set down in the Book of Articles, in the Apology of the Church of England, and in the Defence of the same, in Catechisms commanded by authority to be used, and in the Book of Common Prayer:' but, as Waterland remarks, 'they neither specify those positions, nor at that time point to any Article, or particular passage of the Catechisms or Common-Prayer, so that this general charge is of little or no moment.' *Ibid.* p. 344.

³ They were eight in number, and related to the indefectibility of 'justifying faith,' and other kindred topics which were handled in St. Mary's by the anti-Calvinistic preacher. Strype, *Ibid.* pp. 452, 453.

cally to the principles of Whitaker' was now transmitted to the culprit, who answered them, as we may judge, in person at Lambeth Palace. His replies were sent directly to the heads of houses, and by them submitted to the criticism of Whitaker, who, in opening his denunciations, spoke of them 'as not only indirect and insufficient, but for the most part Popish also.' He contended, in particular, that the views of Barrett, with respect to the nature of faith, were not in harmony with the accredited language of the Articles,¹ but did not specify in what he held the discord to consist; and on the 17th of September, the heads of houses, with untiring zeal, prepared and forwarded another list² of animadversions, in addition to the set which Whitaker had previously transmitted to the Primate.

Whitgift, in his turn, was now the mediator, and, while censuring several of the answers which Barrett had just given him, argued with regard to another (one indeed of the most serious points of difference) that he could not see how it varied from the Articles of Religion.³ He declared, however, that he also was annoyed by the habitual want of reverence for the academical authorities, which the culprit seems to have betrayed at every stage of the existing disputation:⁴ and as all misunderstandings between the heads of houses and himself were now amicably adjusted, he was not unwilling to assist them in correcting an unruly spirit, whom they all were anxious to humiliate, or banish from the University. Acting in this spirit he appointed a second meeting at Lambeth Palace, where Barrett was examined in the presence of a deputation from Cambridge, Whitaker himself included; and on modifying his dogmatic statements, and recalling his most acrimonious observations upon Calvin, the defendant finally consented to put forth some public retractation in terms of his own devising, a pledge, however, which he seems to have delayed till the commencement of the following year, and then to have abandoned altogether.⁵

¹ Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 453.

² *Ibid.* p. 454.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 455, 456.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 457.

⁵ A letter of his to Dr. Goade (in Heylin's *Histor. Quinqu-Artic.*,

But while this controversy was still pending, a fresh plan had been suggested to Professor Whitaker and his party for obtaining a more definite sanction of their 'Calvinistic' tenets, so that they might have the power of extruding Baro as well as Barrett from the precincts of the University, if not entirely from communion with the Church of England.

Having cleared the way before him in a vehement sermon¹ from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Whitaker went up to London early in November, 1595, at the desire, we may again conjecture, of the heads of houses, to be present at a conference which was called together for allaying animosities excited everywhere by the proceedings just described. Another member of the deputation was Tyndal, dean of Ely, who had also taken a most active part in prosecuting Barrett, and was present at the final examination. How long this private conference lasted it is difficult to ascertain. We know that Whitaker was in London on the 19th of November, as is stated in a letter he then wrote to Burghley (Cecil),² the Chancellor of Cambridge; and as reasons can be urged from other quarters for believing that disputes among the Calvinists themselves were long and animated,³ it is probable that they had met together very early in the month. Heylin and other writers⁴ inform us that the 'Propositions' which exhibit the result of their labours were submitted to the Primate on the 10th of November; while Strype⁵ mentions that the work was actually completed on the 20th of the same month. The

Part III. ch. xx. § 10) appears to establish this point in opposition to Strype. He there says: 'But if you and the rest of your assistants (whom I reverence) do purpose to proceed in disquieting and traducing me as you have done by the space of three quarters of this year, and so in the end mean to drive me out of the University, I must take it patiently, because I know not how to redress it: but let God be judge between you and me.' According to Fuller, he afterwards went abroad and conformed to the Church of Rome. *Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge*, p. 286; new ed.

¹ Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 460.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Articuli Lambethani*, p. 4, Lond. 1651.

⁴ Heylin, *Hist. Quinqu.* Part III. ch. xxi. § 2: Collier, II. 644.

⁵ Strype, *Ibid.* p. 461.

truth will probably turn out to be that Whitaker and the friends who aided him in making the original draft of the Lambeth Articles had held a series of preliminary meetings which were strictly private;¹ and that after they determined the exact complexion of their manifesto, it was forwarded at once to the Archbishop for his approbation or correction.

Whitgift's conduct in this matter has occasioned very different guesses as to the chief motives which had swayed him in bestowing what was held to be his sanction on the speculations of the Cambridge doctors. In addition to all inferences which might be drawn from his unswerving patronage of men like Harsnet,² Hooker,³ and Saravia,⁴ his own language in the case of Barrett would have led to the conclusion that he shrank from the complete development of the Genevan dogmas. Yet we cannot doubt, upon the other hand, that he was sympathizing to no small extent with Dr. Whitaker and the Calvinistic party: and if love of peace⁵ and dread of innovation may be thought to have contributed to his acceptance of the Lambeth Articles, he did not scruple to declare that after some important modifications had been introduced into the series, he 'agreed fully with them and they with him.'⁶

¹ Perhaps at the house of Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, from whence the above letter to Burghley is dated.

² After the publication of the Sermon (see above, p. 164) in which he had so strongly objected to the dogma of reprobation, he was made the archbishop's chaplain, and was treated with peculiar kindness.

³ Hooker, in like manner, modified the Calvinistic theory, denying the doctrine of reprobation altogether, and following the language of St. Augustine on the efficacy of the sacraments. See his version of the Lambeth Articles: *Works*, ed. Keble, Vol. I. p. cii. *Eccl. Pol.* v. LX. § 3, and App. to Bk. v. pp. 696, 697.

⁴ See the paper above referred to, p. 169, n. 1; from which it is clear that the tenets of Saravia were strictly *Augustinian*, and opposed to the system of Whitaker and Calvin.

⁵ In the short history of this compilation prefixed to the 'Articuli Lambethani,' Lond. 1651, we have the following statement, which must be taken, however, with some qualification: 'Whitgiftus, princeps cjus conventus, etsi Whitakeri dogmata *minime probabat, facilitate tamen et metu discordiæ, cum suam probare aliis non posset, factus est ipse aliensæ sententiæ accessio*,' p. 4.

⁶ See his own memoranda in Strype, p. 459. He adds, 'I know them to be sound doctrines and uniformly professed in this Church of

Throughout the conference which preceded the publication of this document, Whitgift was assisted by Richard Fletcher, recently translated to the bishopric of London, by Richard Vaughan, bishop-elect of Bangor, and the deputation of divines from Cambridge.¹ They were all, so far as we are able to determine, of the school from whose conclusions Barrett and the Margaret Professor had both ventured to dissent; and it was consequently to be looked for that the test devised on such occasion would be strongly coloured by the partisanship in the midst of which it was constructed. Yet upon comparing the rough draft of what are called the 'Lambeth Articles,' as they proceeded from the pen of Whitaker, with the form in which they finally appeared, we shall perceive that they had undergone a number of important modifications, all of which would tend to make them less offensive to the anti-Calvinistic party. For example, there had been a phrase in the original copy declaring that 'all who had ever been partakers of true faith and of the sanctifying Spirit' must eventually be accepted: while in the amended Article, as propounded to the Church, the indefectibility of Divine grace was stated not in reference to all persons who had been regenerated and justified, but only to a special class entitled 'the elect,'—in plain accordance with the testimony of St. Augustine. Similar deference was again evinced by modifications introduced into a second Article, respecting the nature of assurance, or 'the certainty of faith,' as well as into that affirming the extent to which the saving grace of God has been communicated or withheld in reference to mankind at large.²

England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority. And therefore I thought it meet that Barrett should in more humble sort confess his ignorance and error: and that none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to the foresaid propositions agreed upon.'

¹ The corrected copy of the Articles in Strype is headed, 'Articuli approbati a reverendissimis dominis D.D. Joanne archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et Richardo episcopo Londinensi et aliis Theologis, Lambethæ, Novembris 20, anno 1595:' p. 461.

² For these and other variations see Append. No. v., where the Articles are printed in the original Latin, with notes and emendations by the bishops and divines.

In spite, however, of such mitigating clauses, all attributable to the influence of Whitgift and his friends, the 'Orthodoxal Propositions,' as some persons termed them, have aroused in doctors of the subsequent period the most sweeping and indignant condemnation.¹ And in reference to the age when they appeared, it must be granted that the harshness of their general tone, and their unshrinking affirmation of the 'horrible decree,' were calculated rather to infuriate than to extinguish the prevailing disputations. It was there attempted to impose upon the Church a series of most arbitrary definitions, ill according with the tolerant spirit of the men by whom the English Reformation was effected, and in many points at variance² with the Prayer-Book and the earlier Formularies of Faith. One class of writers has attempted, it is true, to represent the 'Lambeth Articles' as nothing more than a series of interpretative statements,³ all deducible from the Elizabethan Articles; but we despair of bringing them into connection with that work by any of the ordinary processes of ratiocination. On the other hand it is most reasonable to infer, from such attempts to introduce more stringent measures and to speak in a less faltering language, that with reference to the points then advocated by the dominant school at Cambridge, all the older manifestoes of the Church were silent, vague, or insufficient, if not absolutely antagonistic.

But be this as it may, the Articles of Dr Whitaker, though accepted, in some measure, by the Primate and a few of his episcopal brethren, have no claim whatever to be viewed as convocational decisions binding now or then upon the Church of England. We may quote them as a melancholy illustration of the age in which they were projected, or may welcome them as proofs that tenets which we cherish were then strenuously pushed forward to their logical results; but as the Primate was careful to inform

¹ See an extreme specimen in Warburton's *Remarks on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*: Works, vii. 899, Lond. 1788.

² Collier, II. 645 sqq.; Heylin, *Histor. Quinqu-Art.* Part II. ch. viii. sqq.; and Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, *passim*.

³ See Fuller, Bk. ix. p. 232. Hutton, archbishop of York, who yielded a general assent to them, employs a somewhat different language: 'Hæ theses ex sacris literis vel aperte colligi vel necessaria consecutione deduci possunt, et ex scriptis Augustini.' *Styrpe*, p. 461.

the University of Cambridge (Nov. 24), the articles 'must be so taken and used as *the private judgments*' of the compilers, who thought 'them to be true and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of the land, and *not as laws and decrees.*'¹

It is said that the displeasure of Lord Burghley and his royal mistress,² added to the death of Whitaker himself, who seems to have enjoyed his triumph only a few days, had the effect of suspending all further circulation of the Lambeth manifesto, even in the University which called it into being. The new articles were offered, it is true, to Baro by some of the heads of houses, and were so the means of implicating him still further in the feuds to which we have before adverted:³ but after the month of January, 1596, no more is heard⁴ of making the 'Lambeth propositions' a test of doctrine or an authorized interpretation of the Formularies of Faith, until the party, who had now extorted them from Whitgift, made, in 1604, a fruitless effort to engraft them into our own 'Articles of Religion.'⁵

It was then too late, however; for the Church was daily strengthening her hold on the more sober truths which had been vindicated in the early stages of the Reformation; and in Cambridge even, a new race of scholars and divines, with Overall⁶ at their head, was rapidly displacing the adherents of Calvin, and the advocates of the 'Genevan platform.' A reaction was commencing, and the spell by which the able author of the 'Institutio' had bewildered not a few of the finest

¹ Strype, p. 462. Cf. Heylin, *ubi sup.* Part III. ch. xx. § 3, 4.

² Strype, pp. 463, 464. The letter of Whitgift to the Vice-Chancellor (Dec. 8) advises him to comply with the royal wishes, and forbear urging them on the University. Fuller has a curious story of the Queen reminding the Primate, half in jest, that his recent conduct in 'calling a council' had exposed him to a *præmunire*.

³ See p. 165.

⁴ They continued, however, to excite 'much talk and resentment' for some months later, as we gather from a communication of Hutton to Whitgift, 'March 14, 1595' (*i.e.* 1596): Strype, p. 478.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 480.

⁶ Several of his disputations on the Five Points exist in the *Camb. Univ. MS.* Gg, 1 29.

intellects of Europe was ere long to be entirely broken; or if some of our divines continued to accept the leading principles of 'Calvinism,' a clearer insight into other and more comprehensive tenets issued in their virtual renunciation of the harsher dogmas of that system.

Such amelioration was, indeed, restricted for the present to our own country: since in all the sister-island, as will be observed in the following chapter, the Genevan spirit rankled and prevailed for a much longer period, and succeeded even in communicating to the Lambeth Articles the semblance of ecclesiastical authority.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE IRISH ARTICLES OF 1615.

THE Church of Ireland, reaching backward like our own to the first ages of the Gospel, had gradually contracted the same errors and diseases, which, immediately before the dawn of reformation, were corrupting the Church of England. She awoke and threw them off, however, at the same crisis, by her own intrinsic vigour, and, restoring many articles of faith which had been long perverted or forgotten, took her stand upon the tenets of her English sister, in the struggle with the Roman pontiffs.

It appears, indeed, that in the reigns of Henry and Edward, Irish prelates were induced to lean almost exclusively on the decisions of the English Convocation, and had so adopted the chief forms of faith and worship which were emanating from this country under the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown.¹ Yet, after the accession of Elizabeth, when the Prayer-Book, as restored amongst us, had been regularly accepted by the Irish clergy,² in 1560, the main character of the reforming movement was more strictly national. In 1566, as we have seen already,³ the 'Brief

¹ The English Prayer-Book was first used on Easter Sunday, 1551, at the commandment of Sir Anthony St. Ledger, the Lord Deputy. Mant, *Hist. of the Church*, i. 204, 205; 2nd ed.

² Elrington's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, p. 42.

³ See above, p. 120. It is noteworthy that during the reign of Elizabeth, and long after the Union of Scotland with England, the Scottish Church, as well as the Presbyterians, had made use of the *Confession of Faith* drawn up by Knox and his friends in 1560; and also that the Knox-party in Scotland used the English Prayer-Book till 1564, when the *Order of Geneva* was regularly introduced: Stephen's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, i. 95. Lond. 1843; Lathbury, *Hist. of Conv.* p. 162, 2nd ed. The Presbyterians afterwards adopted the 'Westminster Confession;' while the Episcopalians accepted our own 'Articles,' in the Convocation held at Laurencekirk, 1804. In 1801 the 'Articles' had been also adopted (with some modifications) by the Church in the United States of America.

Declaration,' coinciding with our own 'Eleven Articles,' was ordered to be read by all the Irish incumbents 'at their possession-taking, and twice every year afterwards;' but whether the Elizabethan Articles of 1563 were circulated simultaneously in Ireland, as a species of co-ordinate authority, does not seem to have been fully settled. Archbishop Ussher, in a sermon which he preached in 1621, before the English House of Commons, has declared: 'We all agree that the Scriptures of God are the perfect rule of our faith; we all consent in the main grounds of religion drawn from thence; we *all subscribe to the Articles of doctrine* agreed upon in the synod of the year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions,' etc. It is, however, contended, on the other hand, by one of his biographers, that these expressions cannot fairly be considered as decisive of the point, because we have to weigh against them a large mass of evidence more explicit and direct. He urges that archbishop Ussher 'might have used the words in a general sense, as merely expressive of assent, and, indeed, *must* have done so, for many of the persons [laymen] he addressed had never subscribed the Articles.'¹

We may conjecture even, that the lack of some minuter test than the 'Eleven Articles' of archbishop Parker was one reason operating in the minds of Irish prelates when they countenanced the compilation of the longer set of Articles which form the subject of the present chapter. Yet, while urging this conjecture, it should not be concealed, that far more questionable agencies were influencing at least some bishops and divines who aided in the framing of such a Formulary. The rigorous 'Calvinism,' which had already found a shelter in the Church of England, and had struggled there to silence all dissentients by the imposition of the Lambeth Articles, is said to have been still more dominant at this period in the neighbouring kingdom; and, when ultimately baffled in our island, to have risen there into an absolute supremacy of power. And the propagation of Genevan tenets, though attributed in some measure, to political causes,² was at length facilitated more than ever by the influence of James Ussher, who had

¹ Elrington, *ubi sup.* p. 43, and note.

² *Ibid.* p. 43.

passed with the most brilliant reputation through subordinate stages to the headship of the theological faculty at Dublin.¹ Ussher's views were doubtless afterwards softened,² like those of many other theologians who became the brightest luminaries of the Caroline period in our history; but no less certain is it that in the years of which we are now treating he was always the unflinching advocate of 'Calvinism,' thus ranking with the learned Whitaker and others, who were labouring to purge out all 'Popish and Pelagian' errors from the Cambridge colleges. It has been stated, even, that the Irish Articles of 1615 were drawn up by Ussher himself, upon the nomination of the Synod which assembled in that year at Dublin and which sat concurrently with the civil legislature,³ in accordance with the English usage. The president was Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, but extremely few particulars survive in reference to the acts of the Synod, or the cordiality with which the members of it recognised the code of Articles that still bears its name.⁴

Those 'Irish Articles' are a discursive compilation, extending to one hundred and four paragraphs, arranged under nineteen general heads. They comprehend a large variety of definitions, or, more properly, disquisitions on the following theological topics: The Holy Scripture and the three Creeds; faith in the Holy Trinity; God's eternal decree and predestination; the creation and government of all things; the fall of man, original sin, and the state of man before justification; Christ the Mediator of the second covenant; the communicating of the grace of Christ; justification and faith; sanctification and good works; the

¹ *Ubi sup.* p. 44. He was also Vice-chancellor in the previous year, 1614. *Ibid.* p. 49.

² Waterland, *Works*, II. 346, and Dr. Elrington's *Life*, pp. 290 sq.

³ Parr, an older biographer of Ussher, implies that the two legislative bodies were convened at the same time; but the Parliament met May 18, 1613, and the Convocation did not assemble till the end of 1614, or the beginning of 1615. Elrington, p. 39.

⁴ 'Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the cleargie of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the yeare of our Lord God 1615,' etc. They will be found at length in Append. No. VI., printed from a copy of the original edition in Dr. Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, App. IV.

service of God; the civil magistrate; our duty towards our neighbours; the Church and outward ministry of the Gospel; the authority of the Church, General Councils, and bishop of Rome; the state of the Old and New Testament; the Sacraments of the New Testament; Baptism; the Lord's Supper; the state of the souls of men after they be departed out of this life, together with the general resurrection and the last judgment.

Not a few of the Articles, contained in one or other of these main divisions, are borrowed from the corresponding portions of the English series. Some, again, are of a homiletic nature, relating wholly to Christian duties. Others enter upon speculative questions, as the fall of angels, and the aboriginal state of man. One article pronounces absolutely that the pope is 'the Man of Sin' and 'Antichrist.'¹ The paragraphs, however, which excited the most bitter animadversion,² at the time of their appearance and in subsequent ages, are those which have revived the Lambeth Articles, or bear upon the angry controversies out of which the Lambeth Articles had issued. It is true they are not all incorporated in a body, but dispersed in various sections of the work; and further, the original copy³ of the Irish series contained no reference to the English manifesto of 1595; yet the identity is so complete, with one or two verbal⁴ exceptions, that no reader could have doubted the connection which the framers of the Irish Articles were anxious to establish.⁵

Referring the reader, as before, to an Appendix for the

¹ A similar decree had been made just before in a 'Calvinistic' synod at Gappe: Collier, ii. 703.

² Mant, i. 385 sqq.

³ Bp. Mant's copy had such a reference to each of the Nine Articles of the Lambeth series; but it must have been either the London edition of 1629, or that which is appended to Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*: see Elrington's *Ussher*, p. 44, note (f).

⁴ One of these is important; for while the Irish Articles (§ 38) affirm that true faith is not extinguished in 'the regenerate,' the fifth of the Lambeth Articles had deliberately avoided this phrase and spoken of the *elect*: see above, p. 174.

⁵ Some persons, like Heylin, asserted that the whole proceeding was 'a plot of the Calvinians and Sabbatarians of England to make themselves a strong party in Ireland:' see Mant, i. 387.

Articles themselves, it is desirable to investigate their claims on the acceptance of the Irish clergy; and the rather, since this question has been more than once reopened, and selected as the ground of resolute assaults on both the Irish and the English Churches. Now the document itself (as we have seen) professes to have been originally sanctioned by the Convocation of Dublin, and a paragraph appended to the first edition comprises the following decree: 'If any minister, of what degree or qualitie soeuer he be, shall publicly teach any doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon,—if, after due admonition, he doe not conforme himselfe and cease to disturbe the peace of the Church,—let him bee silenced and deprived of all spirituall promotions he doth enjoy.'

On the other hand, the novelty apparent in the constitution of the Synod of 1615, and various minor informalities in its proceedings,¹ had excited doubts respecting the ecclesiastical authority of the Dublin Articles at the very time of their publication: for we find Bernard, the oldest biographer of Ussher, and himself a uniform admirer of the Irish Articles, attempting to repel this prevalent objection, and asserting, on the verbal testimony of his patron, that the Formulary was actually signed 'by archbishop Jones, the president of Convocation, by the prolocutor of the lower House, in the name of the whole clergy, and also by the Lord Deputy, by order of James I.'² But while it

¹ Elrington's *Ussher*, pp. 39, 40.

² Bernard's *Life of Ussher*, p. 50. Collier endeavours to explain the motives of the English monarch in confirming so many Articles at variance with his own opinions, II. 708. Cf. Heylin, *Hist. Quinqu-Artic.* Part III. ch. xxii. § 5: but the solution of Wood (in Dr. Elrington's *Ussher*, pp. 47, 48) is far more probable. Archdeacon Stopford discredits the testimony of Bernard, suspecting that the deputy never signed the Articles at all, and contending, that if he did, such an indirect exercise of the supremacy was invalid: 'Introduction' to Vol. III. of the *MS. Irish Prayer Book*, p. lxiii. ed. E. H. S. But the following extract from an anti-Arminian pamphlet of 1633, entitled *The Truth of Three Things*, etc., indicates that the royal sanction of them was generally believed: 'I may add here unto the doctrine of the Articles of the Church of Ireland, which fitly may here be inserted, as both looking to king James under whose authority and protection it came forth and was maintained, and looking to the doctrine of the Church of England, since it were an intolerable and impudent injury

may be granted that a portion of this evidence has been discredited, it cannot be entirely set aside; and, therefore, while we are entitled to argue that the Irish Articles were destitute of parliamentary sanction, and as such could not have been enforced by temporal penalties, we, notwithstanding, must admit that there is no sufficient ground¹ for questioning their formal recognition in some kind of convocational meeting.

Whether or no they were originally offered to the clergy for *subscription*, like the English series, after the Convocation of 1571, and whether the Church at that, or any future time, had authorized the prelates to exact subscription from the candidates for holy orders, are distinct questions, and questions which it is not easy to determine either one way or the other. The reply, which seems to be most satisfactory,² proceeds upon the supposition, that where any individual bishops used the Irish Articles as a positive test of doctrine, they were overstretching the authority conceded to them by the Synod; for in the decree appended to the document itself no wish is manifested to impose those Articles *absolutely* on the Church of Ireland, either by the agency of subscription or by any other apparatus. It declares, indeed, that whoever shall teach what is *antagonistic to them* shall be silenced and deposed,—in imitation, it would seem, of the stern order which accompanied the Lambeth propositions; yet, unlike determinations of the English Church in 1563, the Irish series claimed no more than *negative* virtue, and must therefore have been serving rather as so many Articles of discipline and self-defence, than as a public Formulary of Faith.

But on whatever footing they were placed in the short

to the wisdom and religious knowledge of these times, to say that between them there was not a harmony,' pp. 29, 30. The pamphlet however, it should be remarked, is full of special-pleading.

¹ All the evidence against the *legitimate* adoption of the Articles was ably stated in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, No. 118, pp. 66, 67.

² In this way only can we give a satisfactory explanation of the language employed in 1634 by Strafford, Laud, and Bramhall. They all speak as if the Irish Articles needed confirmation, and imply that the Puritan party were fully aware of the defect. See Archdeacon Stopford, *ubi sup.* pp. lxiii. lxiv.

interval from 1615 to 1635, those Articles were virtually, if not in form, abolished by the Convocation of this latter date. The leanings of the Irish Church in the direction of Geneva had been now considerably adjusted, and with men like Strafford and Bramhall regulating her affairs, it was most natural to expect that efforts would be made to clear away all obstacles that hindered her more cordial union with the Church of England. As early indeed as 1634, Strafford, in his character of Deputy, devised a plan for this complete assimilation; and Laud,¹ with the concurrence of his royal master, instantly adopted the proposal, and commended its immediate execution. The project was accordingly submitted to the Irish Convocation in the ensuing year, and, by the powerful advocacy of Bramhall, a new Canon was accepted, with but one dissentient voice.² It ran as follows: 'For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord, 1562, etc. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm that any of these Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a public recantation of his error.'

There is thus no doubt whatever as to the regular adoption of the English Articles of 1563 by the authorities of the sister-Church; but it is still disputed whether the fact of such approbation had the power of absolutely

¹ In writing to Strafford, Oct. 20, 1634, he says, 'I knew how you would find my Lord Primate [*i.e.* Ussher] affected to the Articles of Ireland; but I am glad the trouble that hath been in it will end there, without advertising of it over to us. And whereas you propose to have the *Articles of England* received in *ipsisssimis verbis*, and leave the other as no way concerned, *neither affirmed nor denied*, you are certainly in the right, and so says the King, to whom I imparted it, as well as I. Go, hold close, and you will do a great service in it.' Strafford, *Letters* i. 329: cf. Bramhall's *Works*, v. 80, and notes; Oxf. 1845.

² Mant, i. 491.

repealing the Dublin Articles. In answer to this question, we may fairly urge that the original promoters of the scheme regarded the Canon of 1635 from different points of view. Archbishop Ussher, who was still unweaned from the more rigorous of his Calvinistic tenets, though the intimate friend of Laud, has left us his opinion of the case in a contemporary letter addressed to Dr. Ward: 'The Articles of Religion agreed upon in our former synod, anno 1615, *we let stand* as we did before. But for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your Articles also, concluded in the year 1562, as you may see in the first of our Canons.'¹ On the other hand, it is indisputable that Strafford and Bramhall were alike anticipating the abrogation of the Irish Articles as one result of their proposal to adopt the English code. The former hinted that it had been always his intention 'to silence them without noise':² the latter hoped to 'take away that Shibboleth which made the Irish Church lisp too undecently, or rather, in some little degree, to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan.'³ Heylin has, indeed, asserted that the Dublin Articles were actually 'called in';⁴ but there is no sufficient proof that any order was given prohibiting the use of them by individual bishops, and the practice of Ussher himself⁵ in requiring subscription to *both* series leads to the conclusion that they both were still in some degree accepted or permitted. An attempt, however, of the Primate, to procure a formal vote of Convocation, which might rank them as a second or co-ordinate⁶ rule of doctrine in the Irish Church, was strongly discountenanced by Strafford, and was ultimately abandoned; so that while

¹ Elrington's *Life*, p. 176.

² Strafford, *Letters*, Dec. 16, 1634, l. 342: cf. Neal, *Puritans*, II. 107, ed. 1733.

³ Mant, I. 493, and Bp. Taylor's 'Sermon upon the Lord Primate' [Bramhall]: *Works*, VIII. 411, 412, ed. Eden.

⁴ *Life of Laud*, Part II. 271—274: *Hist. of the Sabbath*, Part II. c. VIII. § 9.

⁵ Elrington's *Life*, p. 176: cf. a letter of Laud to Ussher, May 10, 1635: Ussher's *Works*, xvi. 7, 8.

⁶ This appears from the draft of the following canon proposed in the Convocation, but withdrawn through the influence of Strafford: 'Those which shall affirm any of the Articles agreed on by the clergy

considerable forbearance had been exercised in reference to all positive and direct repudiation of those Articles, they had in truth been tacitly withdrawn, together with a Canon which distinctly aimed at placing them upon a level with the English Articles.

It follows, therefore, that whatever may have been the nature of their claims throughout the interval between the two Convocations of 1615 and 1635, they were in future placed in the condition of a will, in which the latest declaration has the force of absolutely overruling all the earlier provisions, in so far as these had worn a different aspect, or were held to be susceptible of a contrary meaning.¹ Hence it is that, after the Rebellion, in the course of which the Puritanism of Ireland had been moderated or exploded,² we discover no fresh instance of a wish among the Irish prelates to enforce subscription to the Dublin Articles. The English have alone been used as a preliminary test of orthodoxy on admission into holy orders,³ so that long before enactments of the civil legislature at the opening of the present century, the two communions on the opposite sides of the Channel had been constituted by ecclesiastical usage the *united* 'Church of England and Ireland.'⁴

of Ireland at Dublin, 1615, or any of the 39 concluded of in the Convocation at London, 1562, and received by the Convocation at Dublin, 1634, to be in any part superstitious, or such as may not with a good conscience be received and allowed, shall be excommunicated and not restored but only by the Archbishop.' 'Introd.' to Vol. III. of *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland*, E. H. S. p. cxviii. The note of Strafford is remarkable as indicating some defect in the authority of the Articles of 1615: 'It would be considered here whether these Articles of Dublin, 1615, agree substantially with those of London, or confirmed equally by the King's authority: else I see no reason of establishing them under one penalty.'

¹ See Collier's observation to this effect, II. 763.

² It is well observed by a writer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for June, 1850, that notwithstanding the strength of feeling at this period, in Ireland as elsewhere, against every thing 'Genevan,' the Dublin Articles of 1615 were unnoticed by the Convocation (from 1661 to 1665); which is a strong proof that they were considered as no longer possessed of the slightest authority or obligation.

³ Elrington's *Ussher*, p. 177.

⁴ e.g., in *An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, it is

provided (Stat. 40 Geo. III. c. 38, 'Ireland'): 'That it be the fifth Article of Union, that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal Church, to be called "The United Church of England and Ireland;" and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England.'

CHAPTER IX.

THE SYNOD OF DORT AND THE ROYAL DECLARATION.

ON the failure of the vehement effort which was made at Cambridge, in the hope of riveting the Lambeth Articles upon the Church of England, the enthusiasm which had suggested their compilation appears to have been gradually subsiding. Calvinism was losing its ascendancy; it was confronted everywhere by an array of formidable opponents,¹ while the ablest of its champions were, in many cases, falling off into positions of neutrality, or passing over to the opposite camp.² A few, indeed, and in that remnant some of the more gifted writers of their age, continued to combine a partial acquiescence in Genevan doctrines with a pure and unreserved attachment to the Formularies of the Church; but, in the great majority, it was apparent that extreme or supra-lapsarian Calvinists were more and more identified with 'Puritans' and 'Precisians,' whose deep-rooted horror of 'the cap, the tippet, and the surplice,' had been driving them into the

¹ See Bp. Young's remark at the time of Laud's ordination, in Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, p. 6. The following order of the King to the Universities in 1616, conducted to the same result: 'That young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their time on the Fathers and Councils, schoolmen, histories, and controversies, and *not to insist so long upon compendiums and abbreviatures*, making them the grounds of their divinity.' Wilkins, iv. 459.

² *e. g.*, Dr. Thomas Jackson, of whom Frynne says that he 'disgraced his mother the University of Oxford, who grieved for his defection:' *Works*, Vol. i. p. xi. Oxf. 1844. Hales of Eaton abandoned his former opinions with the observation that he 'bade John Calvin good night:' Farindon's *Letter*, prefixed to *Golden Remains*, Lond. 1659. See also Bp. Sanderson's remarkable statement respecting the change of his own mind on these subjects: *Hammond's Works*, i. 669, fol. ed.

arms of men like Thomas Cartwright, and at length to a fresh platform¹ of their own devising.

Yet a cursory perusal of the Jacobean literature will satisfy us that, in spite of all defections, there was still a large and acrimonious party, both within and without the Church, who went on preaching the 'Divine decrees' as *the* distinguishing feature of the Gospel. Even where receding (as they now did) from the logical consequences of their system, or, in other words, adopting as their own the *sub-lapsarian* hypothesis, by which the harshness of the older teaching was considerably softened, they esteemed it an imperative duty to denounce all deviations from their ground as both Pelagian and Popish.² To deny that the regenerating grace of God *must* issue in the saving of the soul to which it is imparted; to assert the universal applicability of Christ's atoning work; to claim for man the power of self-determination, or free choice, as one surviving element of his moral constitution; to suspend his full acquittal at the day of judgment on the energy of his faith, or on his faithful use of talents with which he is entrusted,—would be sure to implicate the preacher in a series of unseemly disputations: it was treason to the majesty of Calvin; it amounted to renunciation of the genuine Gospel.

Agitations of this kind arising out of our domestic

¹ The first 'conventicle' was organized in 1567. Mr. Haweis' *Sketches*, p. 189: *Zurich Letters*, i. 201.

² The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford (Dr. Robert Abbott) in a Sermon before the University, 1614, made the following onslaught upon Laud, who was then rising into eminence: 'Might not Christ say, What art thou? Romish or English? Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou? A mongrel, or compound of both? A Protestant by ordination, a Papist in point of Free-will, inherent righteousness, and the like?' Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, p. 25. Carleton, in like manner, denounces Montague as 'running with the Arminians into the depth of Pelagius his poisoned doctrine,' and when the 'Appellant' declares that he has read nothing of the Arminians and utterly repudiates Pelagius, the only answer he obtains from his stern 'Examiner,' is this: 'It seemeth that you are an excellent scholler, that can learne your lesson so perfectly without instructors.' *Examination of those things wherein the Author of the late Appells holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the doctrines of the Church of England*, pp. 19, 20: 2nd ed.

quarrels, were still more exasperated at the opening of the seventeenth century by the appearance of a kindred crop of controversies in the republic of the Low Countries. Our own Church, as Bishop Hall expressed it, began to sicken of the 'Belgic disease,' or the 'five busy Articles;'¹ and our preachers to indulge in most declamatory warnings against the 'poison' of Arminius. The chief leader of that new assault upon the fashionable metaphysics was professor in the university of Leyden, who is said to have abandoned all his Calvinistic tenets after reading a production of William Perkins, one of the most violent of the English supra-lapsarians.² Startled, it would seem, by principles enunciated in that work without the slightest mitigation or reserve, Arminius had resorted to a milder theory of the Divine decrees which seems to have been first of all adopted by St. Ambrose.³ There he found a clue, facilitating his escape from the perplexities in which he was entangled, and supplying what he deemed the one intelligible method which enabled him to recognize the love of the Almighty, and to vindicate the freedom of His fallen creatures.

This revulsion in the spirit of Arminius occurred in 1604, and, as we might expect from the prevailing temper of the age to which his theory was submitted, he became at once the object of unsparing castigation. Nor upon his own withdrawal from the theatre of strife (Oct. 1609) was the discussion he had raised in any way determined or exhausted. On the contrary, it spread with fresh rapidity

¹ 'Men, brethren, fathers, help! Who sees not a dangerous fire kindling in our Church, by these five fatal brands? which, if they be not speedily quenched, threatens a furious eruption, and shall too late die in our ashes.' Bp. Hall, *Via Media*, Works, x. 479. Orf. 1837. As early as 1597, these quarrels had begun in the Low Countries; many of the Dutch divines disputing the authority of the *Confessio Belgica* and the Heidelberg Catechism: see *A short Relation of the Stirres in Holland concerning Predestination, etc.*, in *Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. i. 29*, fol. 54 b.

² William Perkins, *Armillæ Aureæ* (see above, p. 165). The animadversions of Arminius are entitled *Examen Prædestinationis Perkinsianæ*.

³ See Mosheim, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 93, and the *Confessio sententiarum Pastorum, qui in federato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur*, p. 31, Hardewic. 1622.

in every quarter, and was fast absorbing into the Arminian school the very ablest men of Holland. Among others of this class who were contributing to its extension and defence were Episcopius and Uytenbogaert,¹ the former by the agency of the press, the latter of the pulpit. They were also aided by the powerful countenance of Hugo Grotius and Olden-Barneveld: but the co-operation of these eminent statesmen led ere long to the association of the name and principles of Arminius with political combinations, entered into for the purpose of resisting the supreme authority which by the revolution was conferred upon the leading House of Orange. For this reason, while particular States of the 'United Provinces' were ardent patrons of Arminianism, it was exposed to the hostility and hatred of Prince Maurice and the whole of his adherents.²

In order to avert the indignation of the party then ascendant, who not only wielded the civil sword, but threatened to unsheath it in behalf of Calvinistic dogmas, the Arminians now resolved to frame a solemn declaration of their tenets, and present it at a general meeting of the States, in 1610. This document was due to Episcopius and his colleague, and the title which it bore (the *Remonstrance*) has suggested the future appellation of the sect ('the Remonstrants'). It consisted of Five Articles,³ (1) on predestination; (2) the extent of Christ's death; (3) free-will and human depravity; (4) the manner of our conversion to God; and (5) the perseverance of the saints: yet, far from smoothing down the opposition which on civil and religious grounds had been aroused against Arminius, that apology resulted, after a tempestuous interval of eight years,⁴ in the convening of the Synod of Dort.

¹ Guerike, *Kircheng.* II. 519.

² Miller, *Philosophy of Hist.* III. 192, 193. 3rd ed.

³ See *Acta Synod. Dordrecht.* part III. ed. 1620, for the Articles and also for the Judgments of the Divines upon each thesis in succession.

⁴ During this interval (1611) a public disputation had taken place at the Hague between the Remonstrants and the Contra-remonstrants, but no concession having been made by either party and the toleration of the Prince of Orange being exhausted, he imprisoned Grotius and Olden-Barneveld: Collier, II. 716. The latter was afterwards beheaded, in 1619: Guerike, II. 521.

The object of this meeting was to bring about the condemnation¹ of the five points embodied in the Dutch 'Remonstrance,' so that the pretensions of Arminianism were all rejected before they were synodically examined or discussed. At the end of November, 1618, sixty-one² of the Dutch divines, comprising thirty-six ministers, five professors, and twenty elders, were assembled with this object in the town of Dort; and there they welcomed eight and twenty foreign coadjutors, who had come on invitation to the synod from the various States of Europe, for the purpose of conferring weight on its conclusions, but without the privilege of aiding by their vote in the determination of disputed points.

Among the others who had condescended to assist in these proceedings was King James I. of England, though the motives which had influenced him in choosing such a course have not been hitherto ascertained. The bitterness which he had shown in censuring both the doctrine³ and ritual scruples of the Nonconformists at the Hampton Court Conference (1604), and the unvarying patronage he lavished on such men as Montague⁴ and other sturdy doctors of the anti-Calvinistic school, imply that his own personal bias never turned in the direction of the principles asserted at the synod of Dort: and yet his fierce philippic against Vorstius,⁵ who succeeded to the theological chair of Leyden, will be found to have included the most merciless denunciation of Arminius and some principles of his party. On the whole it is most probable that the reasons

¹ It has even been alleged that an oath was taken by the delegates to proceed in this arbitrary manner, but Fuller has shown satisfactorily with regard to the English divines at least, that no such obligation was imposed: *Church Hist.* Book XI. Sect. II. §§ 14, 15. In fact the foreign deputies had no votes, and therefore might not be called upon to take the oath administered to the others.

² Kerroux, *Abrégé de l'Hist. de la Hollande*, II. 500, 501, (quoted by Miller), makes the number sixty-four.

³ See Cardwell's *Hist. of Conf.* pp. 180 sqq.

⁴ The famous *Appello Casarem* (1624) was approved by James and immediately licensed, with the declaration 'that there was nothing contained in it but what was agreeable to the public faith, doctrine, and discipline established in the Church of England.'

⁵ Heylin, *Hist. Quinqu-Artic.* Part III. chap. XXII. § 8.

by which James was swayed in thus acceding to the wishes of the Belgic States, were partly theological and partly political. The wild and reprehensible speculations of Vorstius¹ may have led him to conjecture that Arminius, who was high in favour with the same body, had been similarly tainted by heretical notions, or at least that the Arminian dogmas had a tendency to generate in the mind unworthy thoughts of the Divine Being: while, upon the other hand, the friendship then subsisting between James I. and the Prince of Orange might induce him to assist in the depression of a party, which, through the admixture of political elements before adverted to, was more and more identified with opposition to the House of Orange.

The result, however, was that James, incited either by these causes, or by others which have been suggested,² did respond to the solicitations of the States, and sent to Dort a private deputation³ of English theologians. The men selected were George Carleton, bishop of Llandaff, afterwards of Chichester; Joseph Hall, at that time dean of Worcester, and eventually the famous bishop of Exeter and Norwich; John Davenant, Margaret Professor at Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury; and Samuel Ward, master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and archdeacon of Taunton.⁴ Of this number, Carleton was reputed a most rigid Calvinist; but the remainder may be safely classed among the moderate Augustinians. They were all opposed indeed to the peculiar notions of Arminius with respect to the Divine decrees; but, as we argue from their language on the benefits of infant baptism, or on the reception of regenerating grace by some who may

¹ He had seemed to call in question the absolute perfections of the Divine attributes: *Ibid.*

² Collier, II. 716.

³ "Whatever this synod may signify in some places we have nothing to do with it. The English that appeared there were no other than four Court divines; their commission and instructions were only from the King . . . they had no delegation from the bishops, and by consequence were no representatives of the British Church: *Ibid.* p. 718.

⁴ They were joined in the following month by Walter Balcanqual, a Scotchman, who was also the bearer of credentials from King James. Collier, II. 717: Hales's *Letters from the Synod of Dort*, p. 44, ed. 1659.

not afterwards have persevered,¹ their general doctrine had been drawn exclusively from Hippo, in contradistinction to Geneva. They were all on this account well fitted to promote the object of King James, by advocating principles in the forthcoming synod which might 'tend to the mitigation of the heat on both sides,' and might dissuade the Contra-remonstrants in particular from 'delivering in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools.'² It is affirmed, moreover, that the King instructed them to lay especial emphasis upon the doctrine of universal redemption,—a tenet which 'pursued in its just consequences is sufficient to overthrow the whole Calvinian system of the five points.'³

¹ Dr. Ward, in writing to Archbp. Ussher (May 25, 1630), asserts that the efficacy of baptism in infants had been discussed by Davenant and himself at Dort, when they signified their judgment *that the case of infants was not appertaining to the question of Perseverance*: Ussher's *Works*, xv. 504. ed. Elrington. See also Ward's *Determinations Theologicae*, pp. 44 sqq. Lond. 1658, and Bedford's *Vindiciae Gratiae Sacramentalis*, to which a letter of Davenant is prefixed relating to the same question. These works, together with Ward's *Vindication*, which Ussher, his bosom friend, published after his death, demonstrate that a belief in the regeneration of all infants (as distinguished from their final perseverance) was deemed in no way incompatible with the strongest denial of the Arminian theory of decrees. See the next note but one, and compare Ussher's *Works*, xv. 505—520.

² See the 'Royal Instructions,' in Collier, II. 716.

³ Dr. Waterland, *Works*, II. 348. Oxf. 1843. This question was first handled by Balcanqual, the Scotch deputy of King James, (*Hales's Letters*, p. 74) and from his own correspondence (*Ibid.* p. 2) we learn that Davenant and Ward agreed in maintaining that 'Christ died for all particular men,' while Carleton and Goade (who took the place of Hall) persisted in the belief that He died 'only for the elect, who consist of all sorts of men.' The Calvinistic limitation prevailed for a while (*Ibid.* p. 4); but the following extract from a subsequent letter of the same divine, April 17, implies that the English theologians had afterwards returned to the question: 'The deputies appointed by the synod have taken pains, I must needs confess, to give our Colledge all satisfaction: besides the second Article [on the extent of Christ's death], some of our Colledge have been earnest to have this proposition out: "Infideles damnabuntur non solum ob infidelitatem, sed etiam ob omnia alia peccata sua tam originale quam actualia:" because they say that from thence may be inferred that original sin is not remitted to all who are baptized, which opinion hath

On the assembling of the deputies at Dort the business of the synod was begun, although the representatives of the Arminian school did not arrive until the fourth of the following month.¹ The president was Bogermann, the strictest member of the Calvinistic party, who had previously avowed his own opinion that all persons who declined to acquiesce in the established dogmas should be punished by the civil sword.² The other leading deputies had all been trained in the same rigorous school and had contracted the same bias, so that when the party of Remonstrants, under Episcopius, were admitted to the synod on the 7th of December, it was easy to discover that the cause which they expressed themselves desirous of defending had been absolutely pre-determined. If one doubt existed on this point, it must have been dispelled entirely by a circumstance which happened on the morrow; for two of the Arminian deputies from Utrecht, who had taken their places with the other members of the synod, were then ordered to renounce that character, and to associate in all future meetings with the thirteen others who were formally *cited*³ as delinquents. Episcopius vainly urged them to discuss the controverted questions publicly and *seriatim*: his appeal to 'Scripture and to solid reason'⁴ was met by Bogermann and others, who demanded of him an unquestioning adoption of the terms imposed upon him by the synod; and at last when the

been by more than one council condemned as heretical: *They have, therefore, at their request put it out,* p. 34: cf. 'Sententia Theologorum Magnæ Britannæ de Articulo secundo,' *Acta Synod. Dordrecht*. Part II. pp. 100—106.

¹ John Hales, who was an eye-witness of the proceedings for three months, writes (Dec. 6, 1618, *stylo novo*): 'The armies have been in sight one of another and have had some parley.' *Letters*, p. 23.

² He had before this time translated into Dutch the notorious Treatise of Beza, *De Hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis*.

³ Hales, *ubi sup.* pp. 26 sqq. A third deputy from Utrecht, 'professed to submit himself to the judgment of the synod, if they shall decide according to his conscience,' p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 39. It was conceded by the synod that the Remonstrants might propose their doubts both in the matter of election and reprobation, but must not venture to make any suggestion as to the best mode of proceeding, p. 47. 'An absolute liberty of going as far as they list in oppugning before the synod what opinions they pleased of learned men, this was thought unfit,' pp. 48, 52.

Remonstrants in defiant language went so far as to protest against assumptions of authority which they believed to be imperious and unjust, they were extruded one and all from the assembly, were deprived of their ecclesiastical appointments, and were banished from the territory of the Dutch Republic. Sad indeed were the emotions which these spectacles excited in the bosom of the future Bishop Hall! He did not, however, stay at Dort until the end of the proceedings;¹ for the failure of his health induced him to solicit a recall, and his commission was accordingly transferred to Dr. Goade, who, as we saw, had shown his Calvinistic bias by assisting in the prosecution of Barrett more than twenty years before. The lapse of time had softened in some measure the acerbity of his zeal; and in the course of the discussions, from the opening of the Synod to its close, we cannot fail to notice that the influence of the English deputies, and more especially of Davenant and Ward, was always on the side of primitive truth and Christian moderation. When they finally returned to England² in April, 1619, they left the following most appropriate admonitions ringing in the ears of their too-zealous colleagues; 'If a class of questions such as the reformed Churches have not hitherto decided chances to spring into existence, and if they are discussed by learned and holy men, without any detriment to the faith, it is not seemly in grave and moderate divines to obtrude upon all others their own way of thinking. In such a case all is well, provided only the diversity of opinions breaks not the bond of peace among the clergy, nor be the means of disseminating faction. We suggest, moreover, that of those things which are established on the sure foundation of the Word of God, there are some, which ought not to be promiscuously inculcated

¹ He had preached in the 16th Session of the Synod (Nov. 29) what Hales described (p. 10) as 'a polite and pathetic Latin sermon,' urging among other means of reconciliation a full discussion of Rom. ix. by the two contending parties: 'Agite ergo, viri iudices, si me auditis, jubete, ut pars utraque litigantium, brevem, claram, apertamque sine fuce, sine ambagibus, illius loci paraphrasin, sancto Synodo, fraterna manu, exhibeat:' *Acta Synodi Dordrecht*. p. 46.

² Balcanqual's last letter is dated '25 of April stylo loci.' The Synod itself closed May 9, 1619, with the 154th Session. Guerike, ii. 522.

upon all, but touched in the proper time and place with tenderness and judgment. One of them is the sublime mystery of Predestination, sweet indeed and most full of comfort, but to them who are rooted in the faith, and exercised in holy living; for to such alone should it commend itself as an unfailing bulwark in the grievous struggles of the conscience. But whenever the imprudence of certain preachers exposes this profound inquiry to men who have not learned as they ought the first principles of religion, and whose mind is still rioting in carnal affections, it follows as a necessary consequence that while they wrangle about the mysteries of predestination, they abandon the life-giving gospel; while they dream of nothing else but their predestination unto life, they enter not upon the way eternal as marked out for the predestined. Still greater need of caution is there in approaching the mystery of reprobation, not only that it may be handled sparingly and prudently, but also that in the expounding of it the horrible and unscriptural opinions be avoided which lead rather to desperation than to the edification of the people, and which are now one of the most grievous scandals in some of the Reformed Churches. Finally, let us so think of the most precious merit of Christ's death that we spurn not the opinions of the Early Church, nor the Confessions of the Reformed Communions, and, what is of the highest moment, that we never weaken the promises of the gospel universally propounded in the Church.¹

It had been well for our own country, as for others, if the controversialists had hearkened to these sober counsels, and, instead of inculcating their one-sided speculations on the nature of Divine decrees, had laboured to unfold the practical aspect of religion and its bearing upon human conduct. The return, however, of the deputies from Dort became the signal for still deeper agitation of the topics there discussed. 'Already do we see the sky blacken,' was the language of Bishop Hall² (himself one of the few mediators); 'we hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest, which the late example of our neighbours

¹ *Suffragium Collegiale Synodo Dordrecht.* pp. 103, 104, Lond. 1626.

² Dedication of the *Via Media.*

bids us fear.' One active school of English theologians eagerly espoused the tenets of Arminius, and gave vent to their unmeasured condemnation of the synod where those tenets were proscribed; another grew more clamorous in their advocacy of the wildest Calvinism; and though restrained from deeds of bloodshed, which accompanied the suppression of the Dutch Remonstrants, it is scarcely possible to overstate the violence which they were breathing in all quarters. Every pulpit of the rural parishes, as well as of the towns, was now converted into an arena for extending perturbations which had hitherto been chiefly felt in Universities and schools. Some one or other of the 'Five Points' was chosen as the favourite text of the polemic preacher; and as often as he held the Calvinistic theory, which was frequently the case, he roused the strongest passions of his audience by associating the theological system of Arminius with the hated Babylonish harlot;¹ while the press, conspiring with the pulpit, inundated the whole country with a class of publications, which, for coarseness, rancour, and injustice have few equals even in the sickening pages of the Quinqu-articular disputations.

The intemperance, not to say the frenzy, which predominated everywhere in the discussion of these questions, was enough to satisfy the King that his co-operation at the Synod of Dort had been the means of calling up a spirit of contention and disorder, which, if not allayed, might speedily embody itself in a political agitation, and might even shake him from his throne. Accordingly his next endeavour was to place a curb on the contending

¹ The House of Commons, who made their religious discontent a plea for political agitations, were manifesting the same spirit. The following specimen occurs in their remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham: 'And as our fear concerning change of subversion of religion is grounded upon the daily increase of papists . . . so are the hearts of your good subjects no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spreading of the faction of the Arminians, that being, as your Majesty well knows, but a cunning way to bring in popery, and the professors of those opinions, the common disturbers of the protestant churches, and incendiaries in those States wherein they have gotten any head, being protestants in show, but Jesuites in opinion,' etc. Rushworth, *Hist. Collect.* i. 621, Lond. 1682.

parties, and with this intention he despatched a letter to archbishop Abbott (August 4, 1622), deploring the abuses and extravagances of the pulpit, and charging him to circulate a series of 'Directions concerning Preachers' among the clergy of the southern province. One of these, which may be taken as a sample of the whole, was couched in the following terms: 'That no preacher of what title soever, under the degree of a bishop, or dean at least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace; but leave those themes to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for the schools and Universities than for simple auditories.'¹

But notwithstanding the fresh vigilance of the ecclesiastical authorities, who grew from day to day as weary as the King himself of fruitless² agitations, and were scandalized by the 'indecent railing of their clergy,' royal orders and episcopal charges were alike inoperative; they were immediately forgotten, or deliberately ignored. When Charles I. succeeded to the throne in 1625, he found the Church of England groaning under evils which had been accumulating in the previous reigns, diverted from her mission by unedifying contests, and exhausted by the factions which had been engendered in her by the virulence of party-spirit. Fully conscious of these evils, Charles betook himself in earnest to the use of remedies suggested by his father, and, in concert with Laud and other bishops³ drew up the memorable 'Proclamation' of 1626. He there

¹ Wilkins, iv. 465. In the January following, Gabriel Bridges, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was prosecuted under this order for preaching against the theory of irrespective predestination. Heylin, *Histor. Quinqu-Art.* Part III. ch. xxii. § 10.

² Almost the only fruit of it was visible in defections from the Church to 'Popery, Anabaptism, or other points of separation in some parts of this kingdom:' see 'Abbott's Letter explaining the above doctrines,' in Wilkins, iv. 466.

³ Their object might be in some measure to deliver Montague from his numberless assailants, among the rest from the House of Commons, who had established a Committee of Religion and undertaken

deplored the prevalence of theological dissension, and 'the sharp and indiscreet handling of some of either party,' urging as one cause of his regret that they had 'given much offence to the sober and well-grounded readers, and raised some hopes in the Roman Catholics that by degrees the professors of our religion may be drawn, first to schism, and afterwards to plain popery.' He then expressed his own disapprobation of all persons who, from motives of a different kind, adventured to innovate on the existing usage of the realm, avowing his determination to visit clergymen, whoever they might be, with severe penalties, if they should raise, publish, or maintain opinions not clearly warranted by the doctrine and discipline of the Church.¹

In the Universities, as well as in the principal towns where copies of this edict were immediately distributed, it seems to have produced a great effect in silencing the hot and boisterous polemics; but a multitude of others in remoter parts of England, ready almost to identify the 'Institutio' of Calvin with the revelations of the Sacred Volume, instantly perceived that by such measures their own craft was seriously endangered, and their hopes of further reformation in the Church defeated or destroyed. The mutters of dissatisfaction were not long in reaching the ears of Laud; and it was obviously to check the ebullition of this temper, and oppose new barriers to the growth of a commotion which was soon to be the agent for precipitating the whole Church into the miseries of the Great Rebellion,² that King Charles was now advised to order

the censorship of the theological press. See Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, pp. 87, 88.

¹ Rushworth, i. 412.

² Many divines at that period were beginning to foresee the tendency of the Genevan teaching. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham in 1625 from three of the bishops, it is affirmed 'that they cannot conceive what use there can be of civil government in the commonwealth, or of preaching and external ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions, as some which are opposite and contrary to those delivered by Mr. Montague, shall be publicly taught and maintained.' A still stronger affirmation on this subject may be seen in a Letter of Dr. Brooks, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dec. 15, 1680: Heylin's *Hist. Quinqu-Art.* Part II. ch. vi. § 10.

a reprint of the Thirty-nine Articles, and in a preface to insist with greater stringency upon the execution of his recent edict.

The advertisement or preface, which appears to have been settled at a conference with the bishops,¹ and has ever since retained its place in front of our Articles, under the title of 'His Majesty's Declaration,' was made public in 1628.

After reminding the English people that he was the supreme Governor of the Church, and therefore was desirous of repressing all unnecessary disputations, he proceeds, with the advice of the bishops, to declare that the Articles of Religion contain true doctrine, and confirms them by his royal approbation. He then states, in the two following clauses, that differences respecting the external polity of the Church are to be settled by the clergy assembled from time to time in Convocation,² and that from decisions of this body he will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree. On approaching the dissensions which had 'been ill raised' among the clergy, he expressed his satisfaction that all of them had cordially subscribed the Articles established, and that even in 'those curious points in which the present differences lie' the disputants were on both sides not unwilling to carry their appeals to that

¹ Prynne, in his *Canterburie's Doome*, has the following observation, after charging Archbishop Laud with the intention of establishing Arminianism in England: 'To which end he procured his Majesty by a printed Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, compiled by himself and other bishops, of which the most part were Arminians,' p. 160; cf. Rushworth, i. 653. That Laud was in reality actuated by 'moderate counsels' and an earnest desire for peace is demonstrated by his private correspondence. *Le Bas, L'ŕe*, pp. 128, 129.

² This clause aroused the special indignation of the puritan, Sir John Elliot: 'And now to the particular in the Declaration, we see what is said of Popery and Arminianism; our faith and religion is in danger by it, for like an inundation it doth break in at once upon us. It is said, If there be any difference of opinion concerning the seasonable interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, the bishops and clergy in the Convocation have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please, and for aught I know, Popery and Arminianism may be introduced by them, and then it must be received by all.' Rushworth, i. 649.

common standard. In respect, therefore, of questions rising out of the Quinqu-articular controversy, he ended by the following order: 'We will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense.'¹

A document more sober and conciliatory could not well have been devised. The clergyman was simply bidden to perform an obvious duty, by abstaining as an honest man from all attempts to torture Articles of Religion till he made them square with his own theories. Yet so factious was the age in which this order was made public, that the passions it was meant to calm and mollify² were all the more embittered

¹ Wilkins, iv. 475. On Dec. 30, 1629, the king published instructions for causing the contents of the Declaration to be put in execution and punctually observed for the time to come: Heylin, *ubi sup.* Part III. ch. xxii. § 12.

² The following passage from a 'Declaration' of the King on the dissolution of parliament (March 10, 1628) is a strong proof of his personal earnestness in this matter: 'Having taken a strict and exact survey of our government, both in the Church and commonwealth, and what things were most fit and necessary to be reformed, We found, in the first place, that much exception had been taken at a book entitled, *Appello Cæsarem*, or, *An Appeal to Cæsar*, and published in the year 1625, by Richard Montague, then Bachelor of Divinity, and now bishop of Chichester; and because it did open the way to those schisms and divisions, which have since ensued in the Church, We did, for remedy and redress thereof, and for the satisfaction of the consciences of our own good people, not only by our public proclamation, call in that book which ministered matter of offence; but to prevent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion, established in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; and by a Declaration before those Articles, We did tie and restrain all opinions to the sense of those Articles, that nothing might be left to fancies and invocations [? innovations]. For we call God to record, before whom we stand, that it is, and always hath been, our heart's desire, to be found worthy of that title, which we account the most glorious in all our crown, *Defender of the Faith.*' Rushworth, i. App. p. 4.

and inflamed. A group of Calvinistic clergy in the neighbourhood of London lost no time in framing a petition to the King, in which they deprecated the restraint he had imposed of late upon 'the saving doctrines of God's free grace in election and perseverance.' They contended that the 'Declaration' placed them in a very grave dilemma, for that they must either disobey an earthly monarch by attacking the 'Pelagian and Arminian heresies,' or else must, on the other hand, provoke the heavier indignation of the King of kings Himself, by failing to make known 'the whole counsel of God.'¹ And in the House of Commons, where the Puritan or Calvinistic party was predominant, and where the members more than once had solemnly averred that the suppression of 'Popery and Arminianism' was one of their own foremost duties,² a debate³ upon the royal 'Declaration' resulted in the following vote or manifesto: 'We the Commons in Parliament assembled do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publick act of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuites and Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us.'

How inconsistent are such protestations with the pretext that the Articles were framed entirely on a Calvinistic hypothesis, it were superfluous to remark at length; for as the 'Declaration' aimed at nothing more than to confine the teaching of the clergy to those points which were suggested by a plain and literal exposition of the public Formularly, the wild outcry raised against such principles of

¹ Collier, II. 746, 747.

² Rushworth, I. 652.

³ The speeches of Rous and Prynne are full of the most vehement denunciations of Arminianism: *Ibid.* pp. 645, 647. The latter asserts it to be the duty of a parliament to establish true religion and to punish false, declaring its superiority above the Convocation of Canterbury, which is but provincial and cannot bind the whole kingdom, and adding, with respect to York, that 'it is distant and cannot do any thing to bind us or the laws.' *Ibid.* pp. 649, 650.

exegesis seemed to justify the argument which Montague and others were adopting, when they urged that 'Calvinism' is *not* accordant with the letter of the Articles, and cannot be deduced from them by any of the rules which judges commonly apply to the interpretation of a legal document.¹

¹ See Dr. Waterland's remarks on this subject: *Works*, II. 350.

CHAPTER X.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ARTICLES AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

THE earliest symptoms of dislike to the Elizabethan Articles resulted from the numerous scruples of the school or party who, inheriting the predilections of Bishop Hooper, aimed at a still further simplification of the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Though many of this earlier race of Puritans could reconcile their deep abhorrence of the surplice and other 'defiled robes of Antichrist' with their acceptance of the thirty-fourth article respecting 'Traditions,'¹ that article was viewed by nearly all the disaffected spirits as a harsh restriction, which they were at liberty to criticise, to cancel, to evade. Accordingly the bill 'For ministers of the Church to be of sound religion,' which passed, as we have seen, in 1571, was so ambiguously worded either by its framers or promoters in the houses of Parliament, as to 'serve the turn of the Puritan faction,' and relieve the non-conforming clergy (in their own opinion) from the duty of subscribing to any other Articles except those 'which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments.'²

But compromises of this kind did nothing to conciliate the virulence of party-spirit, which was rapidly diffused by the returning exiles on their not infrequent promotion to the ministry of the Church. The 'Admonitions to the Parliament,' of which the first appeared early in 1572, were

¹ See above, p. 110, p. 130, n. 8. Other obnoxious Articles were those relating to the consecration of Bishops and the Homilies. Some persons, however, more consistently objected always to the xxxivth of the Elizabethan Articles, and, as early as the Convocation of 1563, proposed that 'the censure of those who disconform may be softened, and let down to a gentler dislike:' Collier, II. 486: *Hardwick's Reform.* pp. 232, 247.

² Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, I. 267, 268, Lond. 1732; Blackburne, *Works*, v. 23, Camb. 1804. The Parliament of 1610 urged this distinction expressly on behalf of the Puritans. Neal, II. 83.

bold and acrimonious demonstrations of the growing discontent. Incited by a letter of Beza, Calvin's pupil and successor, which was actually appended to the first 'Admonition,' the chief oracles of Non-conformity insisted more impatiently than ever on the need of 'purity of discipline;' understanding, first of all, by that language, the subversion of the English hierarchy, which they regarded as the 'cheefe cause of backwardnesse, and of all breache and dissention.'¹ But their zeal was not exhausted in denunciations of the bishops, and of 'anti-christian rites.' 'Remoue Homylies, Articles, Iniunctions,' was ere long their indiscriminating clamour, 'and that prescripce Order of service made out of the masse-booke :'² while defenders of the English Formularies, such as Parker and Burghley, were classed among the enemies of reformation and stigmatised by many as 'great papists.'³

Some writers have, indeed, contended that the Puritans, while agitating for 'their conceived discipline, never moved any quarrel against the doctrine of our Church ;'⁴ but nothing is more certain than that authors of the Admonitions to Parliament and other kindred publications, stood on very different ground ; affirming with as much sagacity as malice, that 'the righte government of the Church cannot be separated from the doctrine.'⁵ They maintained consistently that in addition to its ritual deformities, the Prayer-Book was 'full of corruptions ;'⁶ that in the Ordinal there was one paragraph at least which they had never hesitated to condemn as 'manifest blasphemy ;' and some had, for this reason, steadily refused to sign the Articles in 1571, when called into the presence of the High Commissioners.

¹ 'To the godly readers,' sign. A.

² *Ibid.* sign. A. iiij.

³ Parker's *Corresp.* p. 479.

⁴ *e.g.*, Bp. Carleton, *Examination* (of Montague's Appeal), pp. 8, 121, Lond. 1626.

⁵ *First Admonition*, sign. C.

⁶ *Ibid.* sign. B., vii. Other examples may be found among the *Zurich Letters*; *e.g.*, George Withers, writing to the Prince Elector Palatine (before 1567), declares (ii. 162) : 'I will not touch upon the doctrine of our Church, which though sound in most respects, is, however, lame in others :' cf. above, p. 136, n. 1.

It is true, however, that the Articles, except so far as they involved approval of the other Formularies of the Church, were less obnoxious to the Non-conformists in the reign of Elizabeth than in the following century. The earlier Puritans were not unwilling to avow: ¹ 'For the Articles concerning the substance of doctrine, *using a godly interpretation in a poynte or two, which are eyther too sparely or else too darkely set downe, we were and are ready according to duetie, to subscribe vnto them.*' But reservations which accompany these early statements' not unreasonably excite suspicion that with reference even to the document thus arbitrarily singled out for their approval, the Puritans had not a few misgivings lest here also they should 'be stoong with the tayle of Antichristian infection.' And on turning to other pages of the same portentous manifestoes, there is definite proof that scruples of this kind were peeping forth more clearly in the authors of the second Admonition. They are not content with uttering their invectives on the persecuting and intolerant genius of episcopacy, but have proceeded to point out more serious blemishes, not sparing the Articles themselves: 'I praye you are they not starke naught, yea, and so are diuers of them, not onely for their bribing and corruption, their arrogancie, and their tyrannie, but for flat heresie in the sacrament; and some bee suspected of the heresy of Pelagius. For the first, that is, concerning the sacrament, the bishops are notoriously knowne which erre in it; and for free-will not onely suspected, but others also. And in dedde *the booke of the Articles of Christian religion speaketh very dangerously of falling from grace, which is to be reformed,* because it too much enclineth to their erreure.'²

The disaffection, or at least misgiving, everywhere implied in language of this kind was shared extensively by English people in proportion as the principles imported from Geneva were more consciously developed. In 1587, appeared 'A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England, by John Bridges, deane of Sarum,'—

¹ See the passage at length and remarks upon it in Whitgift's *Answer to a certain Libell intituled 'An Admonition to the Parliament,'* Lond. 1573, pp. 298, 299.

² *Secunde Admonition to the Parliament, A.D. 1572, p. 43.*

which is occupied in vindicating the Elizabethan Articles no less than other Formularies of Faith from the objections of the same unquiet spirits. They had ventured to 'speake against diuers grosse and palpable errors that had escaped the bishops,' in the compilation of the Book of Articles;¹ alleging, it would seem by way of example,² only some of the more obnoxious. One related to distinctions drawn in the sixth of our present Articles between Canonical and Apocryphal books, although the cause of their dislike is somewhat difficult to ascertain.³ A second ground of animadversion is the same as we have previously observed in 'Admonitions to the Parliament.' Those Puritans contended that the clause of the sixteenth Article which recognized the possibility of falling from grace was capable of an heretical interpretation, if it was not positively false.⁴ They looked on the expressions 'justified' and 'elect,' as interchangeable; while Bridges in replying to their cavils occupied a very different position. He maintained that 'diuers graces of the Holy Ghost may bee given to those that are not elected,'⁵ and consequently that the statement of the Article is in no way at variance with the view of predestination as held by himself and others of the Augustinian school. A third objection went so far as to assail the whole body of the Articles, upon the ground that they were arbitrary dicta and the offspring of prelatical or quasi-popish domination. To satisfy the Puritanical hypothesis, they ought to have been severally proved by an array of Scriptural texts; whereas now 'they must be accepted of all men, without either reason or testimonie of the Scripture, and no man permitted to shew anye reason or Scripture, that enforceth his conscience to the contrary, but onely to hang vpon the authority of bishops.'⁶

It may seem unreasonable to connect the progress of ecclesiastical democracy in England with the purely theological movement which was agitating the University of Cambridge in 1595: for Non-conformists, who enlisted

¹ pp. 1301, 1302, Lond. 1587.

² *Ibid.* p. 1302.

³ Bridges says, after guessing for some time, pp. 1304—1308, that he can neither see nor feel 'the gross and palpable errors.'

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1308.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1310.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 1314.

under the 'Precisian' banner of Thomas Cartwright, were devoting their chief energies to an attack upon the ritual and the hierarchy, which Whitaker and others, who took part in the compiling of the Lambeth Articles, most cordially accepted. And the same is doubtless true of Ussher and of members of the Dublin Convocation, who afterwards embodied the Lambeth Articles into their national creed, and bound them, in some sort at least, upon the conscience of the Irish clergy. Yet, while granting this, it must not be concealed that in attempts now started for communicating a distinctly 'Calvinistic' tone and bias to our speculative theology, misgivings are betrayed by some at least of their promoters as to the inadequacy of the present Articles for the establishment of their ideas. Dr. Whitaker, as we have seen,¹ admitted that the points which he condemned in the teaching of Barrett 'were not concluded and defined by public authority;' and similar feelings must have actuated Irish prelates in departing so completely from the English standard, where it seems to give no positive sanction to the Calvinistic system.

And this method of explaining the conduct of an influential party is no mere conjecture. That the voice of the Articles had seemed to waver was deliberately confessed at the Hampton-Court Conference in 1604; for Puritans then prayed, by Rainolds, their representative, himself the ardent champion of Geneva, that 'the nine assertions orthodoxal, concluded upon at Lambeth, might be inserted into the Book of Articles,'²—a motion which was strenuously refused, however, on the ground that all such questions were best suited to the schools, and that when agitated it was most desirable to determine them in seats of learning, and 'not to stuff the Book with all conclusions theological.'³

It is observable indeed that Non-conformists were complaining at this juncture, with fresh warmth and acrimony, of 'the errors and imperfections of the Church, as well *in matter of doctrine* as of discipline;'⁴ and at the

¹ See above, p. 167, n. 4; p. 170.

² Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 178.

³ *Ibid.* p. 185.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 225.

Conference of 1604, which had been summoned in the hope of moderating scruples and disarming opposition, it was specified among the list of grievances submitted by Rainolds, that 'the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded in 1562, might be explained in places obscure, and enlarged where some things were defective. For example, whereas Article XVI. the words are these; *After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace*; notwithstanding the meaning be sound, yet he desired, that, because they may seem to be contrary to the doctrine of God's predestination and election in the seventeenth Article, both these words might be explained with this or the like addition; *yet neither totally nor finally.*'¹

In Bancroft's answer, which is of historical importance, it was represented that 'very many in these daies, neglecting holinesse of life, presumed too much of persisting of grace, laying all their religion upon predestination — *If I shall be saved, I shall be saved*; which he termed a desperate doctrine, showing it to be contrary to good divinity, and the true doctrine of predestination, wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*.' He pointed at the same time to the teaching of the Church of England in the last clause of Article XVII., where we are admonished to receive God's promises in such wise as they be *generally* (i.e., *universally*) set forth to us in Holy Scripture.²

¹ Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 178. The same deepening objection to the Articles is seen in an 'Apology of the Lincolnshire Ministers' in 1604 (Neal, II. 55), who affirmed that the Book of Articles, as well as of Common-Prayer, 'contained sundry things which are not agreeable, but contrary, to the Word of God.'

² *Ibid.* pp. 180, 181. Overall (dean of St. Paul's) entered into the same question (p. 186), re-affirming a statement he had made during the discussion of the Lambeth Articles, to the effect that 'who-soever (although before justified) did commit any grievous sin did become *ipso facto* subject to God's wrath, and guilty of damnation until they repented.' His opponents, who adopted the rigorously-Calvinistic tenet, maintained the absolute indefectibility of grace, believing that all persons who were once truly justified, though afterwards guilty of the most grievous sins, 'remained still just, or in a state of justification, before they actually repented of those sins.' See Overall's *Sententia Eccl. Anglican. de Prædestinatione, etc.*, in 'Articuli Lambethani,' p. 41, sq. Lond. 1651.

A second animadversion¹ of the Puritan representatives had reference to the wording of Art. XXIII., 'in the congregation,'—as though it were implied that men (and women also)² might both preach and minister the sacraments *out* of the congregation, before they were lawfully called. This cavil was, however, easily repelled by pointing to the fact that 'congregation' was intended to denote the *Church* in its largest acceptation, and that 'by the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, none but a licensed minister might preach, nor either publicly or privately administer the Eucharist.'³

A third objection had reference to the language of Article XXV., in which Confirmation seems to be included among rites that had 'grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles;' whereas in the Confirmation-Service it is said to be administered 'after the example of the Apostles.'⁴ According to Bancroft, we should harmonize the discrepancy by supposing that while the Article had respect to that undue elevation of the ordinance which ranks it on a level with the two great 'sacraments of the Gospel,' the Prayer-Book 'aims at the right use and proper course thereof.'

A further emendation was proposed in Article XXXVII., by adding to the clause 'The bishop of Rome hath no authority in this land,' the words 'nor ought to have:' but such addition was declared to be redundant; and when Rainolds next proceeded to suggest the introduction of a phrase, denying that the intention of the minister was of the essence of a sacrament, his proposition was again repelled upon the threshold, and the Formulary left exactly as it issued from the hands of Convocation in 1571.⁵

¹ *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 179.

² The objection was chiefly aimed at the practice of baptism by midwives, which excited the displeasure of the Puritans; and to meet their wishes the words 'lawful minister' were introduced into the third rubric before the office for Private Baptism of Infants.

³ See Bancroft's *Answer*, *Ib.* p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 179. Hooper's laxity in speaking of Confirmation and the other rites connected with it in our present Article is very characteristic: *Later Writings*, p. 45, ed. P.S.

⁵ In 'A Note of such things as shal be reformed in the Church,'

But further efforts, threatening also to be more successful, were originated by the party who had uniformly shown repugnance to one section of the Articles, and now were, for the first time, armed with ample powers for carrying out their wishes. At an early session of the conclave known as the 'Assembly of Divines,' an order was received from both Houses of Parliament (July 5, 1643), requiring them to consider the first *ten* of the XXXIX. Articles of the Church of England, with a view 'to free and vindicate the doctrine of them from all aspersions and false interpretations.'¹ A fresh series of instructions, issuing from the same quarter, afterwards extended the authority of the Assembly to the *nine* Articles following, which were also in due course submitted to elaborate criticism. The orders had been limited, however, in both cases to 'the clearing and vindicating' of the Articles, and the Divines accordingly, in their report to the House of Commons, proceeded to acknowledge that, notwithstanding the additions and modifications which they had inserted, very many things continued to be 'defective,' and 'other expressions also were fit to be changed.' We know that when their work was interrupted by fresh orders, bearing date Oct. 12, 1643, *fifteen* of the Articles had been thus 'sparingly' revised; but little or no further progress seems to have been made at this or any subsequent time.² The care of the Assembly was devoted, in the first instance, to the subject of 'Church-Government,' and afterwards to the compiling of a memorable 'Confession for the three kingdoms,

(Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 575) drawn up, it would seem, at the close of the Conference, we find the following minute: 'The Articles of Religion to be *explained and enlarged*. And no man to teach or read against anie of them.' The handwriting is thought to be Bancroft's; but it is not probable, after reading his speeches at the Conference, that he was willing to make any change whatever.

¹ See one of *Six hundred copies of the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, printed 'for the services of both Houses and the Assembly of Divines,' in the Cambridge University Library, Ff. 14, 25. The Articles are signed by 'Charles Herle, prolocutor, Henry Borrough, Scriba, Adoniram Byfield, Scriba.'

² We learn from a pamphlet (Lond. 1654) entitled 'Fourteen Pillars of the Church of England,' that the revised Articles were presented under this designation to Charles I. in the Isle of Wight.

according to the solemn League and Covenant.' It seems indeed that their intention was to throw the Articles aside entirely, 'as a piece several ways imperfect, and the whole as relating onely to the Church of England;' but an order from the House of Commons (Dec. 7, 1646) commanded them to bring the fruits of the revision to their parliamentary employers—a circumstance to which we are most probably indebted for the preservation of the work to our own times.¹

The scope of this revision was exactly as described by Neal,² 'to render the sense of the Articles *more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism.*' Indeed a superficial examination of the terminology adopted in the new series of definitions, is conclusive as to the specific influences at work in all the 'reformations' of the seventeenth century. The first, second,³ fourth,⁴ fifth, twelfth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Articles, as might have been expected from their general character, were left as they were found, or altered so as to betray but little of the dominant spirit. On examining the rest, however, it is found that the *third* of the new series interprets the

¹ Above, p. 212, n. 1. A few hints on this subject will be found in Lightfoot's 'Journal of the Assembly of Divines,' *Works*, XIII. 5 sq. ed. Pitman. On July 12, there was a great debate as to the propriety of adducing Scriptural proofs for each Article, according to a wish expressed by the Elizabethan Non-conformists; see above, p. 208. This was carried in the affirmative, p. 5. On July 15, Selden and others who had been appointed to search for authentic copies of the Articles, made their report to the Assembly, p. 6. On July 28, the third Article excited much discussion, some proposing that it should be altogether withdrawn, p. 7. The three Creeds were considered, Aug. 18, and after a long agitation about translating them anew, and about 'setting some gloss upon the preface and conclusion of Athanasius' Creed, which seems to be something harsh,' the question was deferred till some future time, p. 10. It appears that the Divines were 'very busy upon the sixteenth Article and upon that clause of it which mentioneth departing from grace,' p. 17, when the work was finally suspended by order of the Parliament.

² *Hist. of the Puritans*, III. 68.

³ In the new Article, 'for our sakes truly suffered most grievous torments in his soul from God'='truly suffered' in the authorized Article.

⁴ 'At the general resurrection of the body at the last day'='at the last day.'

'descent into Hell' as equivalent to 'continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death.' The *sixth* omits all mention of the testimony of the Church in ascertaining the component parts of the Scripture-canon; it eliminates the Apocrypha; it furnishes a list of the New-Testament writings: and instead of laying stress upon the *canonicity* of sacred books, it makes the fact of their *inspiration* the true ground of deference to their teaching. In the *seventh* a new clause is added which implies that civil precepts of the Law of Moses are binding on the Christian, provided they be not such as were peculiarly restricted to the Jewish commonwealth.¹ This article is also made to say expressly that by the 'moral law' we understand all the Ten Commandments taken in their full extent.² The *eighth*, respecting the Three Creeds, was finally accepted, with the proviso that they should all be re-translated and explained in an Appendix to the new edition of the Articles,³ then under contemplation. The *ninth*, on Original Sin, is made to bear the special impress of Geneva. The Divines assert—(1) that original sin consists of the 'first sin imputed,' as well as of inherent corruption; (2) that man is not only 'very far gone from original righteousness,' but 'wholly deprived' of it; (3) that he is of his own nature inclined *only* to evil; (4) they

¹ This clause is somewhat illustrated by the fact that during the Protectorate of Cromwell there was a party who laboured to bring about the abolition of the whole law of England, and to substitute the Mosaic in its place. Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, III. 88.

² The force of this decision is seen at once on comparing the scruples felt by Chillingworth a few years before. He maintained that the fourth commandment was no part of the moral law, and did not appertain to Christians. See the *Life* prefixed to his *Works*, ed. 1820, p. 16. From other sources (e.g., Hook's *Eccl. Biography*, iv. 10), we know that, according to Chillingworth, 'praying to God to incline our hearts to keep this law, imported that the Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday, is still in force.' He also objected to Art. XX., Art. XIV., Art. XXXI., Art. XIII., and to Articles in general, 'as an imposition on men's consciences, much like that authority which the Church of Rome assumes.' His scruples were, however, obviated in the end, chiefly through the instrumentality of Sheldon.

³ See above, p. 213, n 1.

substitute 'regenerate' for 'baptized;' and (5) affirm that concupiscence 'is truly and properly sin.' Upon the *tenth*, 'Of Free-will,' a clause has been engrafted, which describes 'the preventing grace' of God as 'working so effectually in us, as that it *determineth* our will to that which is good.' The *eleventh*, 'Of the Justification of man (before God),' in order to explain the mode of our acquittal, declares that the 'whole obedience and satisfaction' of the Saviour 'is by God imputed unto us, and Christ with His righteousness apprehended and rested on by faith only;' while the *thirteenth* changes the expression 'works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit,' into 'works done before justification by Christ and regeneration by His Spirit.'

One of the more leading members in the parliamentary synod which had been entrusted with this criticism of the Elizabethan Articles, and one of the assessors who took part in the compiling of the Westminster Confession, was Cornelius Burges. On the restoration of the English monarchy, and with it of the English Church, he published a new string of 'Reasons shewing the necessity of Reformation of the public doctrine,'¹ as well as of worship and government. He once again indulged in sharp attacks upon the Articles of Religion, which he ventured to impugn as either *doubtful* or *defective*.

Under the first head was included an emphatic censure of the Royal Declaration,² on the ground that it was so constructed as to yield a shelter to 'Arminian' tendencies among the English clergy. Burges also argued that to keep that 'Declaration' as a kind of preface to the Articles would check the circulation of salutary doctrine, and would lead the way to many 'sad consequences,' sanctioning, as he foreboded, a belief in the defectibility of grace, in the judicial authority of the Church, and in some other ques-

¹ The work professes to have been written 'by divers ministers of sundry counties in England,' but Burges was the real author. See Bp. Pearson's *Minor Works*, II. 165, and the Editor's note.

² Bp. Pearson is not correct in speaking of the date of the Declaration, as '10 Caroli.' The mistake is explained by Bennet, p. 366: cf. 'Pref.' to *Minor Works*, pp. xliii. xliv.

tionable topics which are interspersed in all the Books of Homilies, especially in that relating to Almsdeeds.¹

On the other hand, it was attempted to prove that the Articles were *defective*—(1) in failing to enumerate the books of the New-Testament canon; (2) in shrinking from assaults on sundry points of Popery, or rather of 'Arminianism,' which loudly called, in his judgment, for emphatic animadversion;² (3) in passing over many topics of general divinity, such as the creation, the doctrine of providence, the fall of man, sin, effectual calling, sabbath or Lord's day, marriage, communion of saints, etc. It was shown, however, in all cases, by Bishop Pearson, who replied to Burges, that the main objections were either false in themselves, or else were resting on a false hypothesis as to the nature of the formulary at which they had been levelled.³

Many cavils, emanating from the same quarter, have recurred in writings of the later Puritans,⁴ and nowhere have they been more plausibly and fully stated than in Baxter's 'English Non-conformity,' which appeared in 1689. Like a majority of his predecessors in this field of criticism, that writer indicates a general willingness to acquiesce in definitions of Christian doctrine as they stand in our present series; but, in common with the authors of the Admonitions to Parliament, he feels himself constrained to add, by way of qualification, that 'the words of the Articles *in the obvious sense* are many times liable to exception, and there are many things in them that good men may scruple.'⁵ He proceeds accordingly to specify examples where objections had been freely taken to some one or other of them, by writers of his own age; but his

¹ See Pearson's replies to the objections *seriatim*, *Ibid.* II. 174, sqq.

² The work of Burges specifies universal redemption, universal grace, falling from grace, etc. See Pearson's remark, p. 189.

³ See as above, and *Answer to Dr. Burges*, II. 205, sqq.

⁴ They had publicly urged at the Savoy Conference, 1661, as one of their many grievances, that their preachers were obliged to accept the Articles as not contrary to the Word of God. Cardwell, *Hist. of Conf.* p. 266 (note).

⁵ Chap. xxiv.

remarks, unworthy now of serious refutation,¹ are interesting to us only as a further proof that notwithstanding all the offers of the Non-conformist to comply with the conditions of church-membership, provided the rank 'weeds of Popery' were banished from the Ordinal and Prayer-Book, there was always lurking in such men as Baxter a dislike of everything patristic and distinctive in the teaching of the Church of England. She was true to the inheritance she had received, not merely from the Reformation, but through it from the most primitive ages of the faith; while he had little or no sympathy with ancient Christian worthies, acting, if not arguing, as though Christ had no 'true Church on the earth before these times.'²

The hatred of the Non-conformist had, however, been disarmed or softened by events which followed the political convulsion of 1688. Thenceforward he was left to the unfettered use of his own modes of worship; and although in licensing the Non-conformist minister the 'Act of Toleration'³ insisted for a time on the formality of signing the Articles of Religion, excepting the thirty-fourth, the thirty-fifth, the thirty-sixth, the affirmative clause of the twentieth, and a portion of the twenty-seventh,⁴ this latest point of contact or collision seems to

¹ Bingham, in his *French Churches Apology for the Church of England*, pp. 36—98, Lond. 1706, has examined most of the objections made by Baxter and others to the Articles of Religion. A later critic of distinction was John Wesley, who reduced the number of the Articles to twenty-five, and inserted many characteristic changes. The document, as thus curtailed and modified, was raised into a species of 'symbolical book' by the American Wesleyans, and is now used by them as a test of orthodoxy: see Baird's *Religion in America*, pp. 490 sq. New York, 1856.

² Bp. Pearson, *On the Creed*, 'To the Reader.'

³ *Stat. I Gul. et Mar. c. 18. § 8.* It is noteworthy that the 'Comprehension Bill' of 1689 attempted to relieve all ministers of the Church from the necessity of subscribing the XXXIX. Articles. For the Articles were substituted a Declaration which ran thus: 'I do approve of the doctrine and worship and government of the Church of England by law established, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and I promise, in the exercise of my ministry, to preach and practise according thereunto.' Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.* III. 90, 91.

⁴ For the relief of the dissenters 'who scruple the baptizing of infants,' § 10.

have been gradually diminished¹ and is now removed entirely.

The subsequent efforts of an Arian party, in the Church itself, to break away from the unpalatable truths propounded in the more dogmatic Articles, we shall consider most conveniently in the next chapter.

¹ It appears that in 1772, the subscription of the dissenting minister was very seldom made. *Letter to a Bishop*, p. 56: and in 1779, the Act of 19 George III. c. 44, absolved him altogether.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLES.

IT is not my purpose in the present chapter to discuss the ethical meaning of subscription to a formulary of faith, nor to adjudicate with special reference to the Articles before us—(1) whether such subscription must be viewed as a distinct and positive *adoption* of all tenets there defined; or (2) whether it imply no more than general willingness upon the part of the subscriber to restrain himself within the limits there determined in his public treatment of disputed points. Although the latter view has been occasionally advanced by writers of the highest reputation and ability,¹ the former seems to be consistent with the nature and intention of the Articles as well as with the principle embodied by the Church of England in the Canons of 1571.²

Subscription to the Articles has been exacted with the hope of securing uniformity of doctrine in those Churchmen who deliberately assume the office of public teachers. It accordingly involves their own appropriation of the Articles as the exponent of their individual opinions—so far at least as such opinions bear on subjects which have been determined by authority in that code of doctrine; and, while pledging every clergyman to full and positive faith, subscription is the act by which he also formally renounces errors and corruptions which are there repudiated or proscribed. It does not indeed imply that every single definition in the Articles is capable of the same kind of proof, or that they all are in the same way needful to salvation,

¹ e.g., Bramhall, *Works*, II. 201, and elsewhere, Oxf. 1842: but see Bennet, c. XXXIV. on this and other similar passages.

² 'Articuli illi . . . haud dubie selecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti, et cum cœlesti doctrina quæ in illis continetur per omnia congruunt.' Cardwell's *Synod.* I. 127.

and are therefore necessary terms of communion for the laity; yet even with respect to minor statements, some of which may be regarded as no more than probable opinions, and others as but matters of history and morals, every candidate for holy orders certifies his willingness to shape his future teaching by the public standard, and to yield unwavering assent to the propriety of all the code.

The method of interpreting particular Articles was made a further subject of discussion from the time of their first appearance;¹ one claiming to subscribe them with the mental reservation—‘so far as in my judgment they agree with Holy Scripture;’ a second, questioning the absolute obligation of the test, or struggling to evade it whenever it appeared to vary from the language of an older school or system of theology;² but reluctant though we be to stigmatize³ subscribers of this kind as utterly

¹ See above, pp. 110, 205.

² It is worthy of note in this connection that Archbishop Laud was taxed on his impeachment in 1641, with sanctioning the works of Davenport above mentioned (p. 148, n. 2) ‘wherein the 39 Articles of the Church of England established by act of Parliament are much traduced and scandalized.’ The archbishop answered among other things (see *Troubles*, etc., pp. 150 sq.) that he never expected Davenport ‘to expound the Articles so that the Church of England might have cause to thank him for it.’ The Non-conformists afterwards revived this charge of disaffection or disloyalty, affirming that many clergymen who signed the Articles were infected with Romish errors; e.g., in Jenkyns’ *Celeusma*, seu *Clamor ad Theologos Hierarchia Anglicanae*, Lond. 1679, p. 30. He quotes a Jesuit writer (p. 28) who rejoiced that together with sundry indications of a Romanizing spirit ‘39 Articuli flexi in sensum Catholicum.’ Jenkyns then sums up as follows: ‘Denique dum vident Bramhallum, Taylerum, Thorndikum, Hylennum, Sherlocum [*i. e.*, *William Sherlock*], cæterosque quamplurimos ejusdem furfuris publice scriptis suis Sacrae Scripturae lectionem promiscuam, imputationem Christi justitiæ, separationem ab ecclesia Romana ut schismaticam damnare; preces pro defunctis, adorationem imaginum et hostiæ in Eucharistia, justificationem per opera etc. propugnare; hæc (inquam) dum siccis oculis conspiciunt Pontifici, quis de illis non credat, nos non ire, sed currere, totisque animis et velis ad Papismum ferri?’

³ Bp. Conybeare (Sermon on 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4) characterizes the former view as ‘trifling with common sense as much as with common honesty.’ The same principle was deliberately stated by the Arians at the beginning of the last century. Waterland, *Case of Arian Subscription*, passim.

dialoyal to the Church, or as regardless of their own position and their promise, such an exercise of 'private judgment' is assuredly incompatible with unity, and adverse to the health of all religious associations.

The following rules or canons of interpretation, sanctioned by some able writers on this subject, are more reasonable in themselves and far more suited to the nature of the document to which they are applied. It is desirable :

First, to weigh the history of the Reformation movement in the midst of which the Articles had been produced.

Secondly, to read them in this light, approximating as far as possible to the particular point of view which had been occupied by all the leading compilers.

Thirdly, to interpret the language of the formulary in its plain and grammatical sense (*i.e.*, the sense which it had borne in the Edwardine and Elizabethan periods of the Church), bestowing on it 'the just and favourable construction, which ought to be allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority.'

Fourthly, where the language of the Articles is vague, or where (as might have been expected from their history) we meet with a comparative *silence* in respect of any theological topic, to ascertain the fuller doctrine of the Church of England on that point, by reference to her other symbolical writings—the Prayer-Book, the Ordinal, the Homilies, and the Canons.

Fifthly, where these sources have been tried without arriving at *explicit* knowledge as to the intention of any Article, to acquiesce in the deductions which 'the catholic doctors and ancient bishops' have expressly gathered on that point from Holy Scripture; in accordance with the recommendation of the Canon of 1571, in which subscription to the present Articles had been enjoined upon the clergy.

Although instances are found, in earlier times and foreign countries, of the application of religious tests to academical students,¹ the occasion which in England had first

¹ See, for instance, Hardwick's *Middle Age*, p. 291, n. 6. At the time of the Reformation, Osiander (1552) complained that academical tests invaded the liberty of the students; whereupon Melancthon gave the following account of their introduction at Wittenberg, and the

witnessed the exercise of such principles upon a large scale occurred in 1549 and the three following years, when Articles resembling those of 1553 were put in circulation by reforming prelates.¹ This, however, undertaken, as it seems to have been, with no regular sanction either of the Church or civil power, was frequently resisted by the mediæval party; but the royal mandate of June 19, 1553, enforced subscription on the clergy (students of the Universities included) before the expiration of six weeks from the date of its appearance. By this pressure all incumbents would have been constrained to sign the Articles on pain of deprivation, and the test² was ordered to extend to those who might in future be appointed to a benefice or any other ecclesiastical office. But the death of Edward, some days after, interrupted the circulation of the mandate, and subscription to the Articles was consequently abandoned for a period of eighteen years.

Meanwhile, however, it is found that Gardiner had

grounds on which they rested: 'Non recens a nobis excogitata est hæc promissio, sed instituta ab hoc Collegio (i.e., the theological faculty) ante annos fere viginti, videlicet a Luthero, Iona, et pastore hujus Ecclesiæ Doctore Pomerano. Hos integerrimos viros magna injuria adicit Osiander, cum serit suspicionem quod voluerint tyrannidem constituere, quum honestissima causa consilii in conspectu sit. Et tunc vagabantur multi fanatici homines, qui subinde nova deliramenta spargebant, Anabaptistæ, Servetus, Campanus, Schwenkfeldius, et alii. Et non desunt tales furia ullo tempore. Quantum igitur humana diligentia cavere potuit, voluit hic Senatus bona ingenia de modestia commonefacere, et metas ostendere extra quas non temere erumpendum esset. Voluit frænare, quantum posset, minus quietos. Hic mos fuit et Ecclesiæ veteris' Melancthon, *Liber Select. Declam.*: Opp. xii. 7, ed. Bretschneider.

¹ See above, pp. 72 sq. The rigorous way in which subscription had been urged upon the students in the University of Oxford and also on the candidates for Church-preferment, is brought out distinctly in the sermon preached by Brokis (Brooks) Nov. 12, 1553, at St. Paul's Cross. Referring to the latter point, he asks (sign. D. viii): 'Hathe there been anye spiritual promotion and dignitie, ye or almoste anye meane liuyng of the churche, bestowed these few yereas paste, but vppon such onely, as would earnestly set furth (either by preaching, either by *subscribing*) al the erroneous doctrine, falsi termed the *Kinges proceedinges*? Hath there been any catholike of late yereas refusyng subscription, but that hath been, other deprived, other imprisoned, other banished their company, other at leaste silenced?'

² See above. p 74, n. 2.

learned to profit by the stern example of his rival Hooper; and on forwarding his own series of fifteen Articles to Cambridge, he had taken the precaution to enjoin that they should all in future be subscribed by students in the University before admission to degrees.¹

We saw that during the early years of Queen Elizabeth (1559—1571), the clergy, on admission to their benefices, and twice also every year, had been required to signify their acquiescence in a form of doctrine, called the 'Eleven Articles.' This act, however, rested solely on the mandate of Archbishop Parker and the other bishops, not upon a regular order of Convocation or the Crown. The same code of doctrine was also promulgated in Ireland as early as the year 1566; although in neither country was attention drawn distinctly to the permanent fitness of the present list of Articles till 1571—excepting that the formal signature of members of Convocation, under whose auspices the Articles had been revised, amounted to a general recognition of the principle of subscription.

At the latter date two measures, independent in their origin as well as in their operation, were adopted for the purpose of promoting uniformity of doctrine, and excluding all those persons from the ministry of the Church who were unwilling to adopt the Articles as one test of orthodoxy. By the first of these measures, which, as we have seen, is the famous Act 13 Eliz. c. 12, it was required that 'every one under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration or ordering than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late king, of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady, before the feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, shall in the presence of the bishop, or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese, where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, *declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments . . .* and shall bring from such bishop or

¹ Wilkins, iv. 127.

guardian of spiritualities in writing under his seal authentic, a testimonial of such assent and subscription; and openly on some Sunday, in the time of the public service aforenoon, in every Church where by reason of any ecclesiastical living he ought to attend, read both the said testimonial and the *said Articles*.'

The earlier portion of the above clause was obviously intended to secure the acquiescence of the clergy who had been ordained according to the mediæval forms in the reign of Mary, while the new Ordinal was in abeyance. For this reason the provisions of the Act encountered the hostility of the 'Admonition to the Parliament,' put forth in the following year: but whether Articles to which subscription was exacted by that statute from aspirants to ecclesiastical promotion, were *all* the thirty-nine of the present series, or those only of the number which may be regarded as dogmatical,¹ is a question very difficult to answer.

In a later clause of the same Act it is enjoined that no person shall hereafter be admitted to a benefice with cure, 'except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least and a deacon, and shall first have subscribed *the said Articles* in presence of the Ordinary,'—expressions where the ambiguity of which we have complained above is equally apparent.

Bennet² and other writers have contended that the word 'only' was not designed to be restrictive but demonstrative, declaring the nature of the subjects handled in the Articles, or, in other words, importing that they all concern the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments.

But this argument must be regarded as precarious even in respect of grammar; and as soon as we have recollected that distinctions of the kind supposed were actually drawn as early as the introduction of the bill, by some of its chief promoters,³ were revived by Admonitioners to Parliament

¹ The Articles relating to faith and doctrine (so far as these may be separated from the rest) are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22. Bp. Gibson's *Codez*, p. 321.

² c. xxii.: cf. Collier, II. 531; Bedford's *Vindication of the Church of England against 'Priestcraft in Perfection*;' and Dr. Swainson's *Essay on the Hist. of Article XXIX.* pp. 46 sq.

³ See above, pp. 148, 149.

in the course of the following year,¹ as well as by some members of the Convocation of 1575,² and were repeated still more urgently in favour of the Puritans on the accession of James I.,³ it cannot be denied that the statute had been construed from the first by those who were in search of pretexts for their non-conformity, as binding the subscriber only to one section of the Elizabethan Articles.

Selden⁴ alludes to this circumstance in the following passage of his 'Table-Talk': 'There is a secret concerning the Articles,' he writes: 'of late ministers have subscribed to all of them; but by the Act of Parliament that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those Articles which contain matters of faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, as appears by the first subscriptions. . . . But bishop Bancroft, in the Convocation held in king James's days, he began it, that ministers should subscribe to three things, to the King's supremacy, to the Common-Prayer, and to the Thirty-nine Articles; though many of them do not contain matter of faith.'

But writers on the other side allege a very definite opinion from Coke's 'Institutes,' which is couched in the following terms: 'I heard Wray, Chief Justice in the King's Bench, Pasch. 23 Eliz., report that where one Smyth subscribed to the said Thirty-nine Articles of Religion with this addition "so far forth as the same were agreeable to the Word of God," it was resolved by him and all the Judges of England, that this subscription was *not according to the statute* of 13 Eliz. Because the statute required an *absolute* subscription, and this subscription made it conditional; and that this Act was made for avoiding of diversity of opinions, etc., and by this addition the party might by his own private opinion take some of them to be against the Word of God, and by this means diversity of

¹ See Whitgift's *Defense of the Answers to the Admonition*, p. 776, Lond. 1574. Elsewhere, however, it would seem as if the Admonitioners did not themselves recognize this distinction. They speak of the 'pontifical, which is annexed to the booke of common-prayer, and whereunto subscribing to the Articles we must subscribe also.' B. v.

² Wilkins, IV. 284.

³ See above, p. 206, n. 2.

⁴ *Table Talk*, 'Articles,' pp. 3, 4. Lond. 1769.

opinions should not be avoided,—which was the scope of the statute,—and the very Act itself made touching subscription hereby of none effect.’¹

This strong opinion of the Lord Chief Justice, not long after the passing of the Elizabethan statute, is entitled doubtless to considerable weight, and yet it seems to rest upon a mere conviction that reserve or limitation in such cases is irreconcilable with the object of the Church in framing Articles, instead of being drawn from careful study of the Act itself, and due regard to the known feelings of its chief promoters.

It has also been contended that the practice of the High Commissioners, who had to deal with the first race of Non-conformists, was in favour of the stringent interpretation of the Elizabethan statute; but this fact, while serving to acquaint us with the feeling of the Church-authorities, does nothing to clear up the ambiguity of passages above recited. As late, moreover, as the opening of the reign of Charles II. the king himself appears to have been recognising a distinction between articles of doctrine and articles of discipline:² yet in the Act of Uniformity (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 4), such difference is abandoned altogether; and no colourable plea³ is left for seeking shelter in the limitative clause, which might have been adduced with no small show of reason in the period just preceding.

While the House of Commons was thus bent upon exacting a subscription to the Articles, in whole or part, (1) from all the clergy who were not ordained according to the English Reformed Ordinal, and (2) from all the future incumbents on admission to their several cures, the Convocation of the same year was actively engaged in putting forth a second and to some extent a supplementary provision. It was there enjoined⁴ that all persons approved as public preachers should have their licences renewed only on condition that they subscribed the series of Articles agreed on at the Synod, and pledged themselves to preach in strict

¹ *Instit.* Part iv. c. 74, pp. 323, 324.

² Cardwell's *Document. Annals*, II. 300.

³ Yet Blackburne ventures to affirm that the limiting clause is not abrogated by that Act: 'Preface' to 2nd edition of the *Confessional*.

⁴ Cardwell, *Synod.* I. 127.

accordance with that public standard. In like manner, every minister of a church before entering on his sacred functions was enjoined¹ to give a satisfactory proof of orthodoxy by subscribing, not a few, but *all* the Articles of Religion;—a decree in which the members of Convocation had an eye to the prevailing fancy that requirements of the Church were all included in the recognition of *doctrinal* Articles: and consequently, though subscription to the rest might never have been legally enforced, it is indisputable that the whole production was henceforth made binding on the English clergy, *in foro conscientie*.

It may have been this same consideration which was moving the Commissioners to call for the subscriptions of the clergy in the following year without regard to any limitary clause: and the severity with which the Articles in general were imposed would form the sorest grievance of the Puritans, and so give birth to many of the serious agitations which now rose in every quarter. The most early symptom of such disaffection may be gathered from the following extract:² ‘Whereas immediately after the laste Parliament, holden at Westminster, begon in anno 1570, and ended in anno 1571, the ministers of God’s holy Word and Sacraments were called before her maiesties hygh commyssyoners and enforced to subscribe vnto the Articles, if they would kepe theyr places and liuyngs, and some for refusing to subscribe³ vnbrotherly and vncharitably intreated, and from theyr offyces and places removed: May it please therefore thys honorable and high court of Parliament, in consideration of the premises, to take a view of such causes as then dyd withhold, and now doth, the foresayd ministers from subscribing and consenting vnto those foresaid Articles,’ etc.

This onslaught was, however, turned ere long into a general censure of the principle of subscription, in which no regard was had to the distinctive purport of the docu-

¹ Cardwell, *Synod.* i. 120.

² ‘Pref.’ to the First *Admonition to the Parliament*.

³ The number actually deprived for non-subscription was about one hundred. Neal, i. 284: cf. ‘Preface’ to Rogers, *On the Articles*, who describes the malcontents as ‘divers of the inferior ministers in and about London and elsewhere in this kingdom.’

ment itself. It was denounced *because* it was put forward by authority. 'The wound,' those critics now exclaimed,¹ 'grows desperate, and wants a corrosive; 'tis no time to blanch, or sew pillows under men's elbows.' Yet no less apparent is it that, instead of the Elizabethan prelates acting vigorously at this conjuncture, and confuting Non-conformity upon the threshold, not a few of them sank down into lethargic acquiescence, if they did not wink at its diffusion and 'feed its fond humour.' For example, the whole primacy of Grindal had been marked by tenderness in favour of the Non-conformists, and in all his later years he seems to have neglected to impose the Articles, or any other test of doctrine, on the clergy of the southern province.² The result was that on Whitgift's elevation to the same post in 1583, he found himself compelled to institute more stringent measures for preserving what he felt to be the genuine rites and dogmas of the Church of England from the rising inundations of that Puritanism which issued in the Great Rebellion. He accordingly put forward certain declarations which were known as 'Whitgift's Articles,' and which ere long received a formal sanction in the 36th of the Jacobean Canons. These three Articles he had designed for all who were admitted to the cure of souls,³ as well as for all those who should in future be licensed to preach, read, catechize, minister the sacraments, or execute any other ecclesiastical function.⁴ One relates to the supremacy of the Crown, the second to the Prayer-Book and the Ordinal, and the third which bears immediately upon our subject is expressed in the following terms: 'That I allow the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both pro-

¹ Neal, i. 285.

² Fuller, *Church Hist.* Bk. ix. p. 138, fol. ed. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, was another example of this laxity. He 'is blamed even of the best sort for his remissness in ordering his clergy. He winketh at schismatics and Anabaptists, as I am informed. Surely I see great variety in ministrations. A surplice may not be borne here. And the ministers follow the folly of the people, calling it charity to feed their fond humour. Oh, my Lord, what shall become of this time?' Cecil to Parker, Aug. 12, 1561: Parker's *Correspond.* p. 149.

³ 'Pref.' to Rogers, *On the Articles.*

⁴ Bennet, pp. 398, 399.

vinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, and set forth by her Majesty's authority, and do believe all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God. In witness thereof I have subscribed my name.'¹

'The Brethren,' as the Puritan party was now often designated, were so pressed by this intrepid measure of the Primate,² that 1584 is noted in their annals as 'the woful year of subscription.'³ Laity and clergy were alike offended by such 'Articles as lately had been tendered in divers parts of this realm;' and in December, 1584, we find the House of Commons, which was more and more completely tainted by the Puritanic principle, addressing a petition to the Lords spiritual and temporal, in which it was desired that 'hereafter no oath or subscription be tendered to any that is to enter into the ministry, or to any benefice with cure, or to any place of preaching, but such only as be expressly prescribed by the statutes of this realm.'⁴

Resisted as they were by Puritans in parliament, the efforts of a band of men like Whitgift had but little force

¹ For another form of subscription employed at this period, see Bennet, p. 399. An early copy of Whitgift's Three Articles will be found in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, MS. No. 197; § 6, together with 'reasons which may persuade subscribeinge' (fol. 167). The reason urged in favour of the third Article runs thus: 'If not to the last Article, then you denie true doctrine to be established in the Churches of England, which is the maigne note of the Churches: And so I see not reason whie I sholde persuade the Papiste to our religion, and to come to our Church, seeinge we will not allowe it ourselves.' In writing to Sir Christopher Hatton (May 9, 1584), the archbishop gives a melancholy account of his difficulties in reference to these matters; Nicolas's *Life of Hatton*, pp. 371, 372, Lond. 1847.

² In the same year the Convocation put forth certain 'Articuli pro clero,' enjoining among other things that no bishop shall hereafter admit any person to Holy Orders, except he is of his own diocese. . . . 'vel saltem, nisi rationem fidei sue juxta Articulos illos Religionis. . . . Latino sermone reddere possit, adeo ut sacrarum literarum testimonia, quibus eorundem Articulorum veritas innitur, recitare etiam valeat.' Cardwell, *Synod.* i. 141.

³ Rogers, *Ibid.*

⁴ D'Ewes, p. 358. The Archbishop of York (Sandys) replied, that 'for subscription, he doubted not it was lawful and might prove the cause of much order and quietness in the Church,' p. 360.

in mastering the disaffection which was rampant in the middle classes of society now growing into fresh importance. Non-conformity went on increasing, sometimes as before, with the connivance of the bishops, till it leavened nearly all the lump. 'How carelessly subscription is exacted in England,' was Bancroft's lamentation in 1593, 'I am ashamed to report. Such is the retchlessness of many of our bishops on the one side, and their desire to be at ease and quietness to think upon their own affairs; and on the other side, such is the obstinacy and intolerable pride of that factious sort, as that betwixt both sides, either subscription is not at all required, or if it be, the bishops admit them *so to qualifie it* that it were better to be omitted altogether.'¹

Bancroft was himself exalted to the primacy of England early in the following century, and, both before and after that promotion, was distinguished by his ardour in the conflict which was being waged between the Church and Non-conformists. He was also president of the southern Convocation which assembled on the 20th of March, 1604; and there it is recorded that the Articles of Religion 'all and singular,' were subscribed 'by the byshops and the whole cleargy of the province of Canterbury.' This solemn act had doubtless been suggested by the known hostility of Puritans to many of the Articles, as well as other Formularies of the English Church,²—hostility which led again to Bancroft's new proposal, to engraft the disciplinary decrees of Whitgift³ on the code of Canons, which were formally enacted at this period and confirmed under the

¹ *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 249. Lond. 1593.

² At the Hampton-Court Conference just before, the leader of the Puritans had contended that 'subscription was a great impeachment to a learned ministry, and therefore entreated it *might not be exacted as heretofore*.' Cardwell's *Hist. of Confer.* p. 193. 'To subscribe according to the statutes of the realm, namely, to the Articles and the King's supremacy they were not unwilling.' The Prayer-Book was the great stumbling-block.

³ See above, p. 228, and cf. Canon XXXVI. which enjoins subscription to the Articles universally on all, as well at ordination as at institution to a benefice. The best 'Account of the Subscription of the Convocation to the Articles in 1604,' is given by the late Archdeacon Todd in App. IV. of his *Declarations of our Reformers on Original Sin, etc.* Lond. 1818.

Great Seal of England. By the absolute order for subscription which this code embodied, a large number of the Non-conformists, called the 'Brethren of the Second Separation,' were driven to relinquish their positions in the Church; while many who adhered to her communion for a time, were rendered more completely hostile to her government and ritual system.

But the zeal of English rulers, though long dormant or perverted, was now prompting them to undertake more strenuous measures for repairing some of the sad breaches which the Church of England had sustained.¹ The Universities, too long the nursery of Puritanism, were now to be included under the operation of the test prescribed by the Canons in 1604. The officers of Cambridge, it is true, and probably of Oxford also, had recourse to similar methods for ascertaining the orthodoxy of their graduate members, as early as the reign of Edward; but his death, as we have noticed, put an end to agitations which this question was exciting, and it does not seem to have been mooted any more in Cambridge till the reign of James I.² At Oxford, on the contrary, it was decreed in 1573, that every candidate for the future, before taking his degree, should subscribe the Articles of Religion; and in 1576 a further law extended the application of the test to every person above the age of sixteen, upon entering his name at any College or Hall. The powers of both the Universities were subsequently enlarged,³ in 1616, by directions from King James I. enjoining that *all* persons on admission to degrees should sign not only the Articles of Religion, but also the two other statements of the 36th Canon. But in reference to Cambridge, if not Oxford also, it was ruled by the 'Grand Committee for Religion' (Jan. 19, 1641), that to exact subscription from the students was against the

¹ *e.g.*, Bancroft inquires in 1605, and Abbott in 1616, whether any impugn the Articles (Cardwell's *Docum. Ann.* II. 103, 221).

² Some of the following facts are drawn from a *Summary View of the Laws relating to Subscriptions*, etc., 2nd ed. Lond. 1772.

³ Three years earlier the King had prescribed subscription to the three Articles of the 36th Canon in the case of candidates for *divinity* degrees, but the rule was now made binding upon all who took any degree whatever.

law and liberty of the subject, and ought not to be pressed in future on any one whatever.¹

But on reaching the close of that gloomy interval which next ensued, we find that on the Restoration of Charles II. subscription to the Articles was universally imposed upon the clergy with more stringency than ever. Close conformity to rules and rubrics was now peremptorily ordered by Sheldon and his colleagues, while the 36th of the Jacobean Canons was obeyed by minister and prelate with unswerving punctuality. Among the other proofs of vigilance, which rulers both in Church and State thought necessary to exert, it may be noticed, that the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4, requires every head of a college to 'subscribe unto the Nine and Thirty Articles of Religion, mentioned in the statute made in the 13th year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth . . . and declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto, and approbation of the said Articles:' and in a subsequent proviso (§ xxx.) it enacts, with the intention of removing every species of evasion, that 'all such subscriptions shall be construed *as extending to the Ordinal* mentioned in the six and thirtieth Article, any thing in the said Article, or in any statute, act, or canon heretofore had or made, to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.'

The Act of Toleration, we have seen already, limited the number of the Articles to which 'dissenting ministers' were still required to subscribe; but in the application of that test of doctrine to the clergy, it has undergone no change whatever from the period of the Restoration to the present time.

We should remark, indeed, that one large section of English clergymen, especially about the middle of the last century, were loudly crying for emancipation from the 'fetters of subscription.' Their demand was not 'unlimited toleration' as dissenters, but 'unlimited licence,' while discharging their ministerial functions. The depriving of Non-jurors had too frequently involved the introduction, in high places, of a class of teachers whose ideas ill accorded with the temper of the Prayer-Book, or the voice which other

¹ Rushworth, iv. 149.

Formularies were continually uplifting in behalf of dogmatic truth. The controversies with Deism, which broke out in the succeeding period, were the means of lowering the tone of clerical society, or limiting men's interest too exclusively to wants of their own age; while in proportion as the study of patristic literature decayed, a school of Arian and Socinian clergy had sprung up in England, absolutely denying the necessity of faith in fundamental doctrines of the Church, or striving to reduce the plain credenda of the Gospel to the smallest possible number. It is painful to record, that not a few of these writers were willing, in the first instance, to encounter the 'formality,' as they esteemed it, of subscribing Articles to which they rendered no allegiance, either as a step to ordination or the honours and emoluments of office. They contended that 'these Articles may conscientiously be subscribed in any sense in which they themselves, by their own interpretation, could reconcile them to Scripture, without regard to the meaning and intention, either of the persons who first compiled or who now imposed them.'¹ But the hollowness of such a principle was very soon discovered, and its chief abettors next resorted to a bolder scheme for getting rid of oaths and declarations, which were challenging their personal fitness for the work of their high callings. Headed by Archdeacon Blackburne, the unscrupulous author of the 'Confessional,' those agitators argued that the doctrines of the Christian religion cannot possibly be made clearer by human compilations or Articles of faith; that to demand a full and undoubted assent to propositions, in themselves very doubtful and obscure, is to tyrannize over the understanding of subscribers; that to disqualify a person on account of his religious scruples is to subject him to pains and penalties, and that bare compliance in the *use* of an established Liturgy without the aid of Articles of Religion, or indeed of *any* test of doctrine whatsoever, is security enough for all the decencies of public worship, as well as for the peaceful continuation of the present Church-establishment.²

¹ Waterland, *Case of Arian Subscription*: Works, II. 264, 265.

² See these arguments soberly stated in a *Letter to the Members of the Honourable House of Commons*, by a Christian Whig, Lond. 1772;

And as the press was teeming for a while with publications in support of these sweeping measures, the objections to religious tests assumed a formidable aspect under the guidance of the same Archdeacon Blackburne, who had been the foremost instrument in stirring up the general agitation. In 1771, he published his 'Proposals for an Application to Parliament, for relief in the matter of subscription to the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church of England;'¹ and the way being already paved with great ability in his earlier productions, there were 'learned and conscientious clergy' at his beck to aid him in his present undertaking. A petition,² known as the 'Feathers Tavern Petition,' was accordingly prepared and introduced into the House of Commons, Feb. 6, 1772. It set out by affirming 'the undoubted right of Protestants to interpret Scripture for themselves;' it pleaded that habitual violence was done to this principle by exacting the assent of candidates for orders to 'Articles and Confessions of faith drawn up by fallible men;' and, after dwelling at some length on other grievances, submitted the cause of the petitioners, 'under God, to the wisdom and justice of a British parliament, and the piety of a Protestant king.'

It was a happy day for England when this feverish struggle of the Arian party to escape from obligations they had freely undertaken, was defeated in the House of Commons. By whatever motives such decision had been mainly influenced, whether by 'disinclination to religious changes,'³

the Arian character of the movement is peculiarly manifest in 'Reasons humbly offered for composing a new set of Articles of Religion; with XXI. Articles proposed as a specimen for improvement,' Lond. 1771. In this 'improved set,' there is no allusion to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

¹ *Works*, vii. 1 sqq. Camb. 1804.

² See it at length; *Ibid.* pp. 15 sq. These petitioners, however, adopted the old principle to some extent by proposing to subscribe to the Scriptures as set forth in our Authorized Version; but such a test of doctrine would clearly be no test at all. Paley was among the advocates of the Feathers Tavern Petition; and curious is it to remark that Calvin himself refused subscription to Creeds, on the ground that it was 'tryanny to make one man speak the language of another.' *Quarterly Rev.* No. CLXXVI. p. 540.

³ *A Letter to a Bishop* (by an advocate of the measure), p. 4. Lond. 1772.

'by the fashion of the times,'¹ or else by clear anticipation of results which must have followed from the passing of this measure, the petition was repulsed upon the threshold, by 217 to 71, and Blackburne left to pour out his regrets in a new series of 'Reflections' on the fate of his darling project.

Since that crisis there has been no organized attack upon our Articles of Religion, nor, indeed, on any of the tests of doctrine promulgated by the English Church. In spite of the excessive coldness which pervaded our communion at the close of the last century; in spite of individual scruples, and of laxer theories of subscription which revive from time to time, our Formularies have retained their hold on the affections both of priest and people, and are answering the salutary end for which they were compiled.

And now, perhaps, there is more hope than ever, that the Articles will steadily resist the undermining of indifferentism, as well as the more open onslaughts of heresy and unbelief.² A flame of holier zeal is being kindled in the hearts of Churchmen, and is diffused from year to year through the dependencies of the empire. There, as here, while stimulating higher aims and countenancing every

¹ Blackburne, *Reflections on the Fate of a Petition*, etc. Works, VII. 37.

² It is also gratifying to remark that with respect to tests of doctrine, a wonderful reaction has taken place of late in Germany. At a meeting of the Prussian *Kirchenbund* (or confederation of churches composing the *Evangelische Unirte Kirche* of Germany) the following resolution was carried in September, 1853, by more than 2100 voices against six dissentients:

'The members of the German Evangelical *Kirchentag* hereby make known, that they with heart and voice hold and profess the Confession presented by the Evangelical Princes and Estates to the Emperor Charles V. at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in the year 1530, and hereby publicly testify their accord with it, as the oldest and simplest common record of publicly acknowledged Evangelical doctrine in Germany.'

In commenting upon this act, a writer in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, No. XI (1854), forcibly remarks: 'Dass eine freie Versammlung von solcher Ausdehnung sich wieder zur Augsburgischen Confession bekannt, und damit dem Teufel von Neuem entsagt hat, lässt hoffen, dass diese wenigstens bei den Dienern der Kirche bald wieder vollständig in ihre ursprünglichen Rechte eintreten wird.'

project for the social and material good of the community, it wakens a fresh love for the distinctive truths of supernatural religion. It is widening our Christian sympathies, and quickening in us the perception of her close affinity to all the members of the Christian brotherhood. It urges us to emulate the line of ancient worthies into some of whose best labours we have freely entered; and if only it be calm and sober, patient and discriminating, as it certainly is active and expansive, it will ultimately, with God's blessing, make this Church of England the joy of all the earth.

APPENDIX

No. I.

ARTICLES*

DEvised BY

THE KINGES HIGHNES MAJESTIE,

TO STABLYSHE CHRISTEN QUIETNES AND UNITIE
AMONGE US,

AND

TO AVOYDE CONTENTIOUS OPINIONS,

WHICH ARTICLES BE ALSO APPROVED

BY THE CONSENT AND DETERMINATION OF THE HOLE
CLERGIE OF THIS REALME.

ANNO M.D.XXXVL.

* [In the Cotton MS. the title is, 'Articles about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's authority.' See above, pp. 39 sq.]

The text of the following Articles is that of the edition originally printed by Thomas Berthelet, in 1536, which is preferred for the reasons above stated, p. 41.

The collations marked *B* are derived from the Cotton MS. Cleopatra, E. V. fol. 59 sq., through the medium of Burnet's 'Addend.' to Vol. I. 459 sq.

Those marked *C* represent the variations of the Articles as they were drawn by Collier from the 'State Paper Office,' II. 122 sq.

Those marked *F*, the variations in a copy made by Fuller from the Convocation-Records; *Church History*, Book v. pp. 218 sq. ed. fol.

THE PREFACE.*

Henry the VIII. by the grace of God king of England and of France, defensor¹ of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the Church of England, to all, and singular our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, greeting.

AMONG other cures appertaining² unto this our princely office, whereunto it hath pleased Almighty God of His infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought, like as we also yet esteem and think, that it most chiefly belongeth unto our said charge diligently to foresee and cause, that not only the most holy word and commandments of God should most sincerely be believed, and most reverently be observed and kept of our subjects, but also³ that unity and concord in opinion,⁴ namely in such things as doth concern our religion, may increase and go forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord touching the same be repressed and utterly extinguished.

For the which cause, we being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprung in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages now of long time used and accustomed in our churches,⁵ for conservation of

¹ defensor] defender *B.*

² appertaining] committed *B.*

³ that it most chiefly . . . but also] this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, that His holy word and commandments may sincerely, without let or hindrance, be of our subjects truly believed and reverently kept, and observed; and that *B.*

⁴ opinion] opinions *F.*

⁵ now of long time . . . churches] in our said church *B.*

* The whole of the Declaration or Preface is wanting in *C.*

an honest policy and decent and seemly order to be had therein,² minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said Church concerning the premises, and being very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of souls, but also the outward unquietness which by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy were not provided) might perchance have ensued, have not only in our own person at many times taken great pains, study, labours, and travails, but also have caused our bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same. Where, after long and mature deliberation, and disputations had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the most special points and articles, as well such as be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as also divers other matters³ touching the honest ceremonies and good and politic orders, as is aforesaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, for so much as we think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the establishment of that charitable concord and unity in our Church of England, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you, to accept, repute, and take them accordingly. And further we most heartily desire and pray⁴ Almighty God, that it may please Him so to illumine your hearts, that you and every of you may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had, and have in causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published.

And, for because we would the said Articles and every of them should be taken and understanden of you after such sort, order, and degree, as appertaineth accordingly, we have caused, by the like assent and agreement of our said bishops and other

¹ for conversation . . . had therein] for an honest policy and decent order heretofore of long time used and accustomed *B*.

² the most special points . . . other matters] the said matters, as well those that be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, and as also the other *B*.

³ And further . . . pray] most heartily desiring and praying *B*.

learned men, the said Articles to be divided into two sorts; whereof the one part containeth such as be commanded¹ expressly by God, and be necessary to our salvation; and the other containeth such things as have been of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted and used in the churches² of our realm, and be for that same purpose and end to be observed and kept accordingly, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation.³ Wherefore we will and require you to accept the same, after such sort as we have here prescribed them unto you, and to conform yourselves obediently unto the same. Whereby you⁴ shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit, and luere, as well spiritual as other, but also you shall not a little encourage us to take further travails,⁵ pains, and labours for your commodities, in all such other matters as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving subjects.

[I] *The principal Articles concerning our Faith.*

First, As touching the chief and principal articles of our faith, sith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole clergy of this our realm, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, by us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or symbols,⁶ whereof one was made by the apostles, and is the common creed, which every man useth; the second was made by the holy council of Nice, and is said daily

¹ whereof the one part . . . commanded] that is to say, such as are commanded *B.*

² churches] church *F.*

³ *The order of the clauses of the sentence is inverted in B.*

⁴ Wherefore we will . . . Whereby you] which ye following, after such sort as we have prescribed unto you *B.*

⁵ you shall not . . . travails] ye conforming yourselves, and using these our said Articles as is aforesaid shall not a little encourage us to take further travail *B.*

⁶ three Creeds or symbols] Creed and symbols *C.*

in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicumque vult*: and that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things according to the selfsame sentence and interpretation, which the words of the selfsame¹ creeds or symbols do purport, and the holy approved doctors of the Church do entreat and defend the same.

Item, That they ought and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain, and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought, ne can be altered or convelled, by any contrary opinion or authority.

Item, That they ought and must believe, repute, and take all the articles of our faith contained in the said creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man's salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them,² he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his espouse the Church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

Item, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the selfsame words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the articles of our faith be already contained and expressed in the said creeds, without altering in any wise, or varying from the same.

Item, That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time past condemned in the four holy councils, that is to say, in the Council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedonense, and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

[II.] *The Sacrament of Baptism.*

Secondly, As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received, and used in the sacrament of baptism; that

¹ selfsame] said *G.*

² them] *C adds* or any of them.

is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesu¹ Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum celorum*: that is to say,² No man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water and the Holy Ghost.

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of Christ,³ *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*: that is to say, Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved.

Item, That the promise of grace and everlasting life (which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of baptism) pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children; and that they ought therefore and must needs be baptized; and that by the sacrament of baptism, they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved⁴ thereby, and else not.

Item, That infants must needs be christened because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth His grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by His most secret virtue and operation.

Item, That children or men once baptized, can, ne ought ever to be baptized again.

Item, That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' or the Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

¹ Jesu] Jesus B, C; the same elsewhere.

² The translation in this and other instances wanting in B and C; F gives the English without the Latin.

³ saying of Christ] saying of John C.

⁴ saved] salv'd C. This spelling is retained throughout.

Item, That men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall, by the virtue of that holy sacrament, obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the first Article.¹

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for His son Jesu Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of St. John and the apostle St. Peter,² *Delictorum pœnitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomen Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*; that is to say, Do penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesu Christ, and you shall obtain remission of your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. And according also to the saying of St. Paul, *Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulente per Jesum Christum Servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ æternæ*; that is to say, God hath not saved us for the works of justice which we have done, but of His mercy by baptism, and renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom He hath poured out upon us most plentifully, for the love of Jesu Christ our Saviour, to the intent that we, being justified by His grace, should be made the inheritors of everlasting life, according to our hope.

[III.] *The Sacrament of Penance.*

Thirdly, Concerning the sacrament of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people

¹ in the first Article] in the article here before, or else not *C*: in the article, before or else not *B*.

² saying of Saint John and the apostle Saint Peter] saying of Christ and His apostle St. Peter *B*, *C*.

committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that sacrament was institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man, which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can, without the same, be saved, or attain everlasting life.

Item, That like as such men which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from their¹ naughty life, and do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them,² they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

Item, That the sacrament of perfect penance which Christ requireth of such manner persons consisteth of three parts, that is to say, contrition, confession, and the amendment of the former life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws and will of God, that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *fructus digni penitentia*, the worthy fruits of penance.

Furthermore, as touching contrition, which is the first part, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that the said contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together, and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin,³ (unto which knowledge⁴ he is brought by hearing and considering of the will of God declared in His laws,) and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same; he must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God, as sufficient satisfaction for his sins; which done, then afterward with this fear, shame, and sorrow must needs succeed

¹ their] the said *B*, their said *C*.

² *C* adds the declaration of which followeth.

³ sin] sins *C*.

⁴ unto which knowledge] whereunto *B*, *C*.

and be conjoined, the second part, that is to wit, a certain faith, trust, and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of His elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and also confirmed, and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promises¹ of His grace and favour, contained in His gospel, and the sacraments instituted by Him in the New Testament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary, that is to say, confession to a priest, if it may be had; for the absolution given by the priest was instituted of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

Wherefore as touching confession, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must certainly believe that the words of absolution pronounced by the priest, be spoken by authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.

Item, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution so pronounced by the ministers of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God Himself if He should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ, *Quorumcunque remiseritis peccata,*² *remittuntur eis: quorumcunque retinueritis retenta sunt:* that is to say, Whose sins soever ye do forgive, shall be forgiven; whose sins soever ye do retain, shall be retained. And again in another place Christ saith, *Qui vos audit me audit,* etc.; that is to say, Whosoever heareth you heareth me, etc.

Item, That in no wise³ they do contemn this auricular confession which is made unto the ministers of the Church, but that they ought to repute the same as a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolu-

¹ promises] promise *B.*

² The rest of the quotation not cited in *B.*

³ wise] ways *B.*

tion at the priest's hands, at such time as they shall find their consciences grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.

As touching the third part of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and His death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, and must make restitution or satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbours, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity,¹ and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's commandments outwardly, when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be saved; for this is the express precept and commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos penitentiae*; that is to say, Do you the worthy fruits of penance:² and St. Paul saith,³ *Quemadmodum præbuisitis membra vestra serva immunditiae et iniquitati ad aliam atque aliam iniquitatem; sic et nunc præbete membra vestra serva justitiae ad sanctificationem*, etc.; that is to say, Like as in times past you have given and applied yourself and all the members of your body to all filthy living and wickedness, continually increasing the same, in like manner now you must give and apply yourself wholly to justice, increasing continually in purity and cleanness of life: and in another place he saith, *Castigo corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo*; that is to say, I chastise and subdue my carnal body, and the affections of the same, and make them obedient unto the spirit.

Item, That these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation, and God necessarily requireth that every

¹ and must make restitution or satisfaction . . . charity] and all other good works C.

² penance] C *inserts* and Saint Paul saith 'Debitores sumus.'

³ Saint Paul saith] in another place he saith C.

penitent man shall perform the same, whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto him so to do.

Item, That by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Si nos ipsi judicaremur, non judicaremur a Domino*; that is to say, If we would correct and take punishment of ourselves, we should not be so grievously corrected of God: and Zacharias the prophet saith, *Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos*; that is to say, Turn yourselves unto me, and I will turn again unto you: and the prophet Esay saith, *Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam. Cum videris nudum operi cum et carnem tuam ne despexeris: tunc erumpet quasi mane lumen tuum, et sanitas tua citius orietur, et anteibit faciem tuam justitia tua, et gloria Dei colliget te: tunc invocabis et Dominus exaudiet te, clamabis, et dicet: Ecce adsum. Tunc orietur in tenebris lux tua et tenebræ tuæ erunt sicut meridies, et requiem tibi dabit Dominus semper, et implebit splendoribus animam tuam, et ossa tua liberabit et eris quasi hortus irriguus et sicut fons aquarum, cujus non deficient aquæ, etc.*; that is to say, Break and deal thy bread unto the hungry, bring into thy house the poor man, and such as want harbour; when thou seest a naked man, give him clothes to cover him with, and refuse not to succour and help the poor and needy, for he is thine own flesh. And if thou wilt thus do, then shall thy light glisten out as bright as the sun in the morning, and thy health shall sooner arise unto thee, and thy justice shall go before thy face, and the glory of God shall gather thee up, that thou shalt not fall: and whensoever thou shalt call upon God, God shall hear thee; and whensoever thou shalt cry unto God, God shall say, Lo, here I am, ready to help thee. Then shall thy light overcome all darkness, and thy darkness shall be as bright as the sun at noon day; and then God shall give unto thee continual rest, and shall fulfil thy soul with brightness, and shall deliver thy body from adversity; and then thou shalt be like a garden, that most plentifully bringeth forth all kind of fruits, and like a well-spring that never shall want water.

These things, and such other, should be continually taught

and inculked into the ears of our people to the intent to stir and provoke them unto good works; and by the selfsame good works to exercise and confirm their faith and hope, and look for to receive at God's hand mitigation and remission of the miseries, calamities, and grievous punishments, which God sendeth to men in this world for their sins.¹

[IV.] *The Sacrament of the Altar.*

Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and ² of all them which receive the said sacrament; and that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same: according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; probet igitur seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo illo bibat; nam qui edat aut bibit indigne iudicium sibi ipsi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini;* that is to say, Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ; wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink. For whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily,

¹ *B and C substitute for this last paragraph the following equivalent: Hæc sunt inculcanda ecclesiis et ut exercentur ad bene operandum, et in his ipsis operibus exercent et confirmant fidem, petentes et expectantes a Deo mitigationem præsentium calamitatum.*

² unto and] *wanting B, C.*

he eateth and drinketh it to his own damnation; because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ and other kinds of meat.

[V.] *Justification.*

Fifthly, As touching the order and cause of our justification, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that this word Justification signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for His Son's sake, Jesu Christ, and the merits of His blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof: and yet that notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification; but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of His laws and commandments: for although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoined with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life; and we being justified, be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus. Nam si secundum carnem vixerimus, moriemur: sin autem spiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicumque Spiritu Dei ducuntur, hi sunt filii Dei*; that is to say, We be bound not to live according to the flesh and to fleshly appetites; for if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortify the deeds of our flesh, and live

according to the Spirit, we shall be saved. For whosoever be led by the Spirit of God, they be the children of God. And Christ saith, *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*; that is to say, If ye will come to heaven, keep the commandments. And St. Paul, speaking of evil works, saith, *Qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt*; that is to say, Whosoever commit sinful deeds, shall never come to heaven. Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge; that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by Him; and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues: for Christ saith, *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum*; that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

ARTICLES CONCERNING THE LAUDABLE CEREMONIES
USED IN THE CHURCH.¹

[VI.] *And first of Images.*

AS touching images, truth it is that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of them sometime destroyed² and put down; and in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare. Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that there may be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and

¹ *This division of the Articles is not found in B, nor C.*

² that the same . . . destroyed] that the same hath been said in the Old Testament for the great abuses of them to have been sometime destroyed C.

good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds, and make men oft to¹ remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: and to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses, for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for censuring of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught that they in no wise do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God, and in His honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, of our Lady, or of any other saint beside.

[VII.] *Of honouring of Saints.*

As touching the honouring of saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charges, that saints, now being with Christ in heaven be to be honoured of Christian people in earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that² which must be had only of God: but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world, because they already do reign in glory with Christ; and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which He planted in them, for example of and by them to such as yet are in this world to live in virtue and goodness, and also not to fear to die for Christ and His cause, as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways, and such like, be saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

¹ oft to] often *B, C, F.*

² that] wanting in *C.*

[VIII.] *Of praying to Saints.*

As touching praying to saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient Mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God after this manner: "All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesu Christ's sake, we may have grace of Him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength,) to observe and keep His holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end:" and in this manner we may pray to our blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the Apostles or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another; or is patron of the same. And likewise we must keep holy-days unto God, in memory of Him and His saints, upon such days as the Church hath ordained their memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent and commandment of us,¹ the supreme head, to the ordinaries, and then the subjects ought to obey it.

[IX.] *Of Rites and Ceremonies.*

As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's Church, as to have such vestments in doing God's service, as be and have been most part used, as sprinkling of holy water to put us in remembrance of our baptism and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross; giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity,

¹ us] wanting in *C.*

which in the beginning of Christ's Church men did more often receive than they use nowadays to do; bearing of candles on Candlemas-day in memory of Christ the Spiritual Light, of whom Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day: * giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the same day; bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of the receiving of Christ into Jerusalem, a little before His death, that we may have the same desire to receive Him into our hearts; creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday before the cross, and there offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross; setting up the sepulture¹ of Christ, whose body after his death was buried; the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and² benedictions by the ministers of Christ's Church; and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify; † not suffering them to be forgot, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time. But none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.

[X.] *Of Purgatory.*

Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of Maccabees, and divers ancient doctors plainly shew,³ that it is a very good and a charitable deed to pray for souls departed, and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the Church so many years, even from the beginning, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by

¹ sepulture] sepulchre C. ² exorcisms and] wanting in C. ³ shew] shewen B, F.

* [i.e., in the Gospel for the Feast of the Purification.]

† [See an interesting 'Book of Ceremonies,' in which the *symbolical* import of Divine worship (as then practised) is illustrated at great length, in Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* Hen. VIII. App. cix.]

us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same, and that it standeth with the very due order of charity, a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to other to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain¹: but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to Almighty God, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition. Wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that masses said at *Scala Cœli*,* or elsewhere, in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven; and other like abuses.

LONDINI IN ÆDIBUS
THOMÆ BER-
THELETI REGII IMPRES-
SORIS.

[The following is the longer list of the signatures appended to the Articles of 1536: see above pp. 41, 42. It is here printed from Burnet, *ubi sup.*, and agrees with the second of the lists preserved by Collier, except that the order of the names is

¹ relieved and holpen of some part of their pain] sooner obtain the mercy of God and fruition of his glory *C.*

* [Three shrines, borrowing this name from the Chapel of *Scala Cœli* at Rome, appear to have existed in England anterior to the Reformation. The first was King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, the second was in the Church of St. Botolph at Boston, the third was the Chapel of our Lady in the Church of the Augustine Friars at Norwich. See further illustrations in 'Notes and Queries,' 1st series, I. p. 402.]

occasionally altered. Like many similar documents of a transition-period, it is capable of furnishing the reader with some very instructive facts.]

Signed,

Thomas Cromwell.

T. Cantuarien.	Robertus ab. de Thorney.
Edvardus Ebor.*	Robertus ab. de Waltham.
Joannes London.	Joannes ab. Cirencest.
Cuthbertus Dunelmens.*	Joannes ab. Teuxber.
Joannes Lincoln.	Thomas prior Coventr.
Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro dom. Joan. Exon.	
Joannes Bathonien.	Joannes ab. de Oseney.
Hugo Wygornen.	Henricus ab. de Gratiis.
Joannes Roffen.	Anthonius ab. de Eynsham.
Rich. Cicestren.	Robertus prior Elien.
Thomas Elien.	Robertus prior sive magister ordinis de Sempringham.
Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro dom. Rowlando Coven. et Lichfielden.	Richardus ab. de Notteley.
Joannes Bangoren.	Hugo prior de Huntyngdon.
Nicholaus Sarisburiens.	Willielmus ab. de Stratford.
Edvardus Hereforden.	Gabriel ab. de Buckfesttria.
Willielmus Norwicensis.	Henricus ab. de Wardenor.
Willielmus Meneven.	Joannes prior de Merton.
Robertus Assaphen.	Richardus pr. de Walsingham.
Robertus abbas sancti Albani.	Thomas ab. de Gerendon.
Willielmus ab. Westmonaster.	Thomas ab. de Stanley.
Joannes ab. Burien.	Richardus ab. de Bytlesden.
Richardus ab. Glastonia.	Richardus pr. de Lanthoni.
Hugo ab. de Redying.	Robertus ab. de Thame.
Robertus ab. Malmesber.	Joannes prior de Newenham.
Clemens ab. Eveshamen.	Radulphus prior de Kyme.
Johannes ab. de Bello.	Richardus ab. de Brueria.
Willielmus ab. S. Petri Glocest.	Robertus ab. de Welhowe.
Richardus ab. Winchelcombens.	Bartholameus pr. de Overey.
Joannes ab. de Croyland.	Willielmus pr. de Burgaveni.
	Thomas ab. de Abendon.

* In the MS. these names are not arranged as here, but stand alone in the left-hand margin.

Inferior Domus.

- Ri. Gwent archidiaconus London, et Breck.
 Robertus Aldrydge archid. Colcest.
 Thomas Bedyll archid. Cornub.
 Ricardus Stréte archid. Derbiæ.
 David Pole ar. Salop.
 Ricardus Doke archid. Sarum.
 Edmundus Bonner archid. Leycestria.
 Thomas Baghe archid. Surr.
 Gamaliel Clyfton decanus Hereford. et proc. capit.
 Joannes London decanus Wallingford.
 Nicholas Metcalf. archid. Roffens.
 Ricardus Layton archid. Bucks.
 Hugo Coren proc. cleri Hereford.
 Ricardus Sparcheford proc. cleri Hereford.
 Mauritius Griffith proc. cleri Roffen.
 Gulielmus Buckmastre procurator cleri London.
 Ricardus Rawson archid. Essex.
 Edmundus Cranmer archid. Cant.
 Polidorus Vergilius archid. Wellen.
 Ricardus Coren archid. Oxon.
 Henricus Morgan procurator cleri Lincoln.
 Petrus Vannes archid. Wygornen.
- Georgius Hennage decanus Lincoln.
 Milo Spencer procurator cleri Norwicen.
 Willelmus Knyght archid. Cestria.
 Nicolaus Metcalf archid. Roffen.
 Willmus Hedge procurator cleri Norwicen.
 Adam Traves archid. Exon.
 Ricardus Woleman dec. Wellen.
 Tho. Brerewood archidiacon. Bar. procur. capituli et cleri Exon.
 Georgius Carew archid. Totton proc. capituli et cleri Exon.
 Thomas Bennet proc. cleri et capit. Sarum.
 Ricardus Arche proc. cleri et capit. Sarum.
 Petrus Ligham pr. cleri Cant.
 Edmundus Steward proc. cleri Winton.
 Joannes Rayne pr. cleri Lincoln.
 Leonardus Savile proc. cleri archid. Lewen.
 Simon Matthew pr. cleri London.
 Humfrid. Ogle archid. Salop.
 Gulielmus Maye proc. cleri Elien.
 Rolandus Phylips proc. capituli eccles. St. Pauli. London.
 Joannes Bell ar. Glocest.

Ricardus Shelton mag. colleg. de Metyngham; per me Wil- helmum Glyn. archi. Angles- sem.	Thomas Bagard procurator cleri Wygornen.
Robertus Evans decan. Ban- goren.	Joannes Nase proc. cleri Bathon. et Wellen.
Walterus Cretyng ar. Batho- nien.	Georgius Wyndam archid. Norwicen.
	Joannes Chambre dec. St. Ste- phani archid. Bedford.
	Nicolaus Wilson.

APPENDIX

No. II.

A BOOK

CONTAINING

DIVERS ARTICLES, DE UNITATE DEI ET TRINITATE
PERSONARUM, DE PECCATO ORIGINALI, &c.

(THE XIII. ARTICLES OF 1538.)

For some account of the origin and importance of these Articles, see above, pp. 59 sqq.

They are now reprinted from Dr. Jenkyns' edition of *Cranmer*, iv. 273 sqq., and, as in that work, the passages or phrases which have re-appeared in the Edwardine Articles, are denoted by *Italics*.

They are also printed in the Parker Society's edition of *Cranmer's Remains and Letters*, App. No. XIII. pp. 472 sqq.

Six of the *Thirteen Articles*, as we have seen already, p. 64, n. 2, were printed by Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i., App. No. cxii., but with considerable variations. A few of the more important are appended to the several Articles in question.

The portions of the document which are almost identical with the *Augsburg Confession* have been included between [[. . .]].

TABLE.

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| <p>1. De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum.</p> <p>2. De Peccato Originali.</p> <p>3. De Duabus Christi Naturis.</p> <p>4. De Justificatione.</p> <p>5. De Ecclesia.</p> <p>6. De Baptismo.</p> <p>7. De Eucharistia.</p> | <p>8. De Pœnitentia.</p> <p>9. De Sacramentorum Usu.</p> <p>10. De Ministris Ecclesiæ.</p> <p>11. De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis.</p> <p>12. De Rebus Civilibus.</p> <p>13. De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio Extremo.</p> |
|---|--|

I. De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum.*

[[De Unitate Essentiæ Divinæ et de Tribus Personis, censemus decretum Nicenæ Synodi verum, et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse, videlicet, quod sit una Essentia Divina, quæ et appellatur et est *Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum visibilibus et invisibilibus*, et tamen *tres sint personæ ejusdem essentiæ et potentiæ*, et cœternæ, *Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*; et nomine personæ utimur ea significatione qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit. Damnamus omnes hæreses contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manicheos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum: item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas, et omnes horum similes. Damnamus et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendant, de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.]]

II. De Peccato Originali,†

[[Omnes homines, secundum naturam *propagati*, nascuntur cum peccato originali; hoc est cum carentia *originalis justitiæ*

* *Confess. August. Part 1. § 1.*

† *Ibid. § 11.* The extent of the Fall is stated less strongly in the English than in the German Article.

debitæ inesse, unde sunt filii iræ, et deficiunt cognitione Dei, metu Dei, fiducia erga Deum, etc. Et habent concupiscentiam, repugnantem legi Dei; estque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his qui non renascuntur per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnamus Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem viribus naturalibus sine Spiritu Sancto posse legi Dei satisfacere, et propter honesta opera rationis pronunciari justum coram Deo.]]

III. De Duabus Christi Naturis.*

[[Item docemus, quod *Verbum*, hoc est *Filius Dei*, *assumpsit humanam naturam in utero Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex Virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Item descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad cælos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corde eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus ut judicet vivos et mortuos, &c. juxta Symbolum Apostolorum.]]*

IV. De Justificatione.†

Item de Justificatione docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum et acceptationem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei, hoc est veram renovationem in Christo; et quod peccatores, licet non assequantur hanc justificationem absque pœnitentia, et bono ac propenso motu cordis quem Spiritus Sanctus efficit erga Deum et proximum, [[non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ aut illorum operum seu meritum suorum justificantur, sed gratis

* Confess. August. § III.

† *Ibid.* §§ IV. V.

propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro iustitia coram ipso. Rom. 3^o. et 4^o]. Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem et otiosam, sed eam “quæ per dilectionem operatur.” Est enim vera et Christiana fides de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, aut credulitas doctrinæ Christianæ duntaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitia et credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem et propitium. Et hæc fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, aut hypocritica, sed necessario habet spem et charitatem sibi individue conjunctas, ac etiam studium bene vivendi, et bene operatur pro loco et occasione. Nam bona opera ad salutem sunt necessaria, non quod de impio justum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis, sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat juxta illud: “Non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum cælorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cælis est.” Qui vero hæc opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque justus est, neque vitam æternam (nisi ex animo respiciat, et vere poeniteat) assequetur.¹

[Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tanquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in his qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita sed propter Christum justificet poenitentes, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi. Damnamus Anabaptistas, et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum præparationes et opera.]

V. De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia præter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet præcipuas: unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium sanctorum et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere

¹ *The rest wanting.*

credunt et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus. Hæc autem vivum¹ est et vere sanctum Christi corpus mysticum, sed soli Deo cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo et non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec juste et per ejus verbum² sunt excommunicati. Ista Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita duntaxat, in qua boni malis sunt admixti et debet esse cognita ut possit audiri juxta illud: "Qui Ecclesiam non audierit," &c. Cognoscitur autem per professionem Evangelii et communionem sacramentorum. ³Hæc est Ecclesia catholica et apostolica, quæ non Episcopatus Romani aut cujusvis alterius Ecclesiæ finibus circumscibitur, sed universas totius Christianismi complectitur Ecclesias, quæ simul unam efficiunt catholicam. In hac autem catholica Ecclesia nulla particularis Ecclesia, sive Romana illa fuerit, sive quævis alia, ex institutione Christi supra alias Ecclesias eminentiam vel auctoritatem ullam vindicare potest. Est vero hæc Ecclesia una, non quod in terris unum aliquod caput, seu unum quandam vicarium sub Christo habeat aut habuerit unquam, (quod sibi jam diu Pontifex Romanus divini juris prætextu vindicavit, cum tamen revera divino jure nihil amplius illi sit concessum quam alii cuivis episcopo,) sed ideo una dicitur, quia universi Christiani in vinculo pacis colligati unum caput Christum agnoscunt, cujus se profitentur esse corpus, unum agnoscunt Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma, unum Deum ac Patrem omnium.

Traditiones vero, et ritus, atque ceremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem vel ordinem vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est ut eadem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hæc enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus, ordo, et utilitas Ecclesiæ videbuntur postulare:

⁴[Hæc enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus decensque ordo principibus rectori-

¹ vivum] una.

² juste et per ejus verbum] wanting.

³ The rest as far as Traditiones wanting.

⁴ The following paragraph is written on a loose slip of paper, as if subsequently added. In Strype's version we have, Sic tamen ut sint consentientes Verbo Dei.

busque regionum videbuntur postulare; ita tamen ut *nihil* varietur aut *instituat*ur contra *verbum Dei* manifestum.]

Et *quamvis in Ecclesia* secundum posteriorem acceptionem [malis sint bonis admixti atque, etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum non nunquam præsint]; tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato, et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis juxta illud: "Qui vos audit, me audit." Nec per eorum malitiam mixuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; [sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.]

VI. De Baptismo.*

De Baptismo dicimus, quod Baptismus a Christo sit institutus, et [sit necessarius ad salutem, et quod per Baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi], infantibus et adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari Baptismus. Et quod infantes debeant baptizari. Et quod infantes per Baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, et sint filii Dei, quia promissio gratiæ et vitæ æternæ pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio per ministerium in Ecclesia infantibus et adultis administrari debet. Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ seu concupiscentia manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat.¹ Probamus igitur sententiam Ecclesiæ quæ damnavit Pelagianos, quia negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. [Damnamus et Anabaptistas qui negant infantes baptizandos esse]. De adultis vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur per Baptismum remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint poenitentiam veram, confessionem articulo- rum fidei, et credant vere ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum, sicut Petrus ait in Actis: "Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti."

¹ mundat] mundat suo quodam modo,

* Conf. August. § IX.

VII. De Eucharistia.*

De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, [[vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi]] sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

VIII. De Pœnitentia.†

Summam et ineffabilem suam erga peccatores clementiam et misericordiam Deus Opt. Max. apud Prophetam declarans hisce verbis, “Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus, nolo mortem impii, sed ut impius convertatur a via sua et vivat,” ut hujus tantæ clementiæ ac misericordiæ peccatores participes efficerentur, saluberrime instituit Pœnitentiam, quæ sit omnibus resipiscentibus velut antidotum quoddam et efficax remedium adversus desperationem et mortem. Cujus quidem Pœnitentiæ tantam necessitatem esse fatemur, ut quotquot a Baptismo in mortalia peccata prolapsi sint, nisi in hac vita resipiscentes Pœnitentiam egerint, æternæ mortis judicium effugere non poterint. Contra [vero] qui ad misericordiam Dei per Pœnitentiam tanquam ad asylum confugerint, quantiscunque peccatis obnoxii sunt, si ab illis serio conversi Pœnitentiam egerint, peccatorum omnium veniam ac remissionem indubie consequentur. Porro quoniam peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis, Dei opus est et donum, valde utile et necessarium esse arbitramur docere, et cujus beneficium sit ut veram salutaremque Pœnitentiam agamus, et quænam illa sit ac quibus ex rebus constet, de qua loquimur Pœnitentia.

Dicimus itaque Pœnitentiæ per quam peccator a morte animæ resurgit, et denuo in gratiam cum Deo redit, Spiritum Sanctum auctorem esse et effectorem, nec quemquam posse sine hujus arcano afflatu, peccata sua salutariter vel agnoscere vel odio habere, multo minus remissionem peccatorum a Deo sperare

* Conf. Aug. § x. : see above, p. 63.

† Strype has printed two Articles *de Pœnitentia*, the second of which is on the whole, though not verbally, in accordance with the present.

aut assequi. Qui quidem sacer Spiritus Pœnitentiæ initium, progressum, et finem, cæteraque omnia quæ veram Pœnitentiam perficiunt in anima peccatrice, hoc (quem docebimus) ordine ac modo operatur et efficit.

Principio, facit ut peccator per verbum peccata sua agnoscat, et veros conscientiæ terrores concipiat, dum sentit Deum irasci peccato, utque serio et ex corde doleat ac ingemiscat, quod Deum offenderit; quam peccati agnitionem, dolorem, et animi pavorem ob Deum offensum, sequitur peccati confessio, quæ fit Deo dum rea conscientia peccatum suum Deo confitetur, et sese apud Deum accusat et damnat, et sibi petit ignosci. Psalm. 31. "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi. Dixi, confitebor adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei." Atque hæc coram Deo confessio conjunctam habet certam fiduciam misericordiæ divinæ et remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, qua fiducia conscientia jam erigitur et pavore liberatur, ac certo statuit Deum sibi esse propitium, non merito aut dignitate pœnitentiæ, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, ac unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Ad hæc adest et certum animi propositum vitam totam in melius commutandi, ac studium faciendi voluntatem Dei et perpetuo abstinendi a peccatis. Nam vitæ novitatem sive fructus dignos Pœnitentiæ ad totius Pœnitentiæ perfectionem necessario requirit Deus, juxta illud, Rom. 6^o: "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ, in sanctificationem."

Atque hæc quidem omnia, agnitionem peccati, odium peccati, dolorem pavoremque pro peccatis, peccati coram Deo confessionem, firmam fiduciam remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, una cum certo animi proposito postea semper a peccatis per Dei gratiam abstinendi et serviendi justitiæ, Spiritus Sanctus in nobis operatur et efficit, modo nos illius afflatui obsequamur, nec gratiæ Dei nos ad Pœnitentiam invitanti repugnemus.

Cæterum cum has res quæ Pœnitentiam efficiunt maxima pars Christiani populi ignoret, nec quomodo agenda sit vera Pœnitentia intelligat, nec ubi speranda sit remissio peccatorum norit, ut in his rebus omnibus melius instituat et doceatur, non

solum concionatores et pastores diligenter in publicis concionibus populum de hac re informare, et quid sit vera Pœnitentia, ex sacris literis sincere prædicare debent, verum etiam valde utilem ac summe necessariam esse dicimus peccatorum confessionem, quæ auricularis dicitur, et privatim fit ministris Ecclesiæ.

Quæ sane confessio modis omnibus in Ecclesia retinenda est et magnificianda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, et alia commoda non pauca, (de quibus mox dicemus) tum præcipue propter absolutionis beneficium, hoc est remissionem peccatorum, quæ in hac confessione confitentibus offertur et exhibetur per absolutionem et potestatem clavium, juxta illud Christi, Joan. 20. "Quorum remisistis peccata," etc. Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox Evangelii, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine et auctoritate, remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat ac offert. Cui voci Evangelii per ministrum sonanti, dum confitens certa fide credit et assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, et jam certo secum statuit Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse. Quæ una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debet permovere, ut confessionem, in qua per absolutionem gratiæ et remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur et confirmatur, modis omnibus et ament et amplectantur. Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis, etiam illis qui soliti sunt vocari casus reservati, ita tamen ut ille privatim absolutus, nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus (si in jus vocetur) publicis judiciis subiaceat.

Accedunt huc et alia confessionis arcana commoda, quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam [commodius] aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint, [modo confessorem doctum et pium nacti fuerint.] Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt, diligenter ad ea quæ a sacerdote dicuntur animum advertunt. Quocirca et fides eorum explorari potest, et quid peccatum sit, quamque horrenda res sit, et quæ sint peccatorum inter se discrimina, ac quam graviter contra peccata irascitur Deus, a doctis ac piis pastoribus seu confessoribus [ex verbo Dei] doceri possunt ac informari. Multi enim, propterea quod hæc ignorent, in conscientiis sæpe graviter anguntur, illis

trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est, qui (ut Servator ait) "culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt;" in minimis levissimisque peccatis valde anxii, de maximis et gravissimis non perinde poenitentes. Sunt porro qui simili laborantes inscitia propter immodicum timorem et animi pusillanimitatem de peccatorum venia fere desperant. Contra sunt, qui per hypocrisim superbientes seipsos adversus Deum erigunt, quasi aut sine peccato sint, aut ipsos pro peccatis Deus nolit punire.

Jam quis nescit quam utilis et necessaria istiusmodi hominibus confessio sit, in qua hi verbo Dei dure increpandi arguendique sunt, ut peccatores se agnoscant, atque intelligant, quam horribiliter Deus peccata puniat. Contra, illis qui nimio timore desperant, suavissima Evangelii consolatio afferenda est. Ad hæc in confessione [ex verbo Dei] doceri homines possunt, non solum qua ratione Diaboli tentationes vincant, et carnem mortificent, ne ad priores vitæ sordes postea relabantur, verumetiam quibus remediis peccata omnia fugiant, ut non regnent in ipsis. Præterea illa animi humilitas qua homo homini propter Deum sese submittit, et pectoris sui arcana aperit, multarum profecto virtutum custos est et conservatrix. Quod quod pudor ille et erubescencia peccati quæ ex confessione oritur, præterquam quod animum a peccato ad Deum vere conversum indicat, etiam multos mortales a turpibus factis retrahit ac cohibet. Postremo, ut ille qui simpliciter et tanquam coram Deo peccata sua ministro Ecclesiæ confitetur, declarat se verum Dei timorem habere, ita hac animi humilitate discit Deum magis et timere et revereri, et innatam in corde superbiam reprimere, ut Dei voluntati facilius obsequatur et obtemperet. Jam vero, cum hæc ita se habeant, nihil dubitamus, quin omnes viri boni hanc confessionem tot nominibus utilem ac necessariam, non solum in Ecclesia retinendam esse, sed magno etiam in pretio habendam judicent. Quod si qui sunt qui eam vel damnant, vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se et in verbo Dei institutionem, et absolutionis beneficium, (quod in confessione datur) et alia multa atque ingentia commoda Christianis valde utilia, negligere et contemnere ostendunt; nec animadvertunt se in orbem Christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, et magnam in omne scelus ruendi occasionem præbere.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, quemad-

modum non probamus scrupulosam et anxiam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientiis, ita censemus segnem et supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse et fugiendam.

[IX.] De Sacramentorum Usu.*

[[Docemus, quod *Sacramenta* quæ per verbum *Dei instituta* sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quedam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ, et bonæ voluntatis *Dei* erga nos, per quæ *Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis*, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus; quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in his qui eis utuntur. Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis, præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quæ credat præsentibus promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur, et præstantur.]] Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam *ex opere operato* sine bono motu utentis, nam in ratione utentibus necessum¹ est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quæ per sacramenta conferantur.² De infantibus vero cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia *Dei* excludere, præsertim cum *Christus* in *Evangelio* dicat, “Sinite parvulos ad me venire, talium est enim regnum cælorum:” et alibi, “Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cælorum:” cumque perpetua *Ecclesiæ* *Catholicæ* consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis *Apostolorum* temporibus, receptum sit infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum et salutem, dicimus quod *Spiritus Sanctus* efficax sit in illis, et eos in *Baptismo* mundet, quemadmodum supra in *Articulo* de *Baptismo* dictum est.

[X.] De Ministris *Ecclesiæ*.†

[[De Ministris *Ecclesiæ* docemus, quod nemo debeat publice docere, aut *Sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus,]] et quidem*

¹ necessum] necessarium.

² conferantur] conferuntur.

* Confess. August. § XIII. : but the English statement by introducing the epithet ‘efficacia’ and the phrase ‘per quæ *Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis*’ expresses the doctrine of the sacraments more strongly.

† Confess. August. § XIV.

ab his, penes quos in *Ecclesia*, juxta verbum Dei, et leges ac consuetudines uniuscujusque regionis, jus est *vocandi* et *admittendi*. Et quod nullus ad *Ecclesie* ministerium vocatus, etiamsi episcopus sit sive Romanus, sive quicumque alius, hoc sibi jure divino vindicare possit, ut publice docere, Sacramenta ministrare, vel ullam aliam ecclesiasticam functionem in aliena diocesi aut parochia exercere valeat; hoc est, nec episcopus in alterius episcopi diocesi, nec parochus in alterius parochia. Et demum quod malitia ministri efficacis Sacramentorum nihil detrahat, ut jam supra docuimus in Articulo de *Ecclesia*.

[XI.] De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis.*

[Ritus, ceremoniæ, et ordinationes ecclesiasticæ humanitus institutæ, quæcunque prosunt ad eruditionem, disciplinam, tranquillitatem, bonum ordinem, aut decorem in *Ecclesia*, servandæ sunt et amplectendæ, ut stata festa, jejunia, preces, et his similia.]

De quibus admonendi sunt homines quod non sint illi cultus, quos Deus in Scriptura præcipit aut requirit, aut ipsa sanctimonia, sed quod ad illos cultus et ipsam sanctimoniam admodum utiles sunt, ac tum placent Deo, cum ex fide, charitate, et obedientia servantur. Sunt autem veri et genuini cultus, timor Dei, fides, dilectio, et cætera opera a Deo mandata. Ad quæ consequenda et præstanda, quoties ritus et traditiones adjumentum adferunt, diligenter servandæ sunt, non tanquam res in Scripturis a Deo exactæ, aut illis veris et genuinis cultibus æquandæ, sed tanquam res *Ecclesie* utiles, Deo gratæ, et adminicula veræ pietatis. Et quamvis ritus ac traditiones ejusmodi a Christianis observari debeant, propter causas quas ante diximus, tamen in illarum observatione ea libertatis Christianæ ratio habenda est, ut nemo se illis ita teneri putet, quin eas possit omittere, modo adsit justa violandi ratio et causa, et absit contemptus: nec per ejusmodi violationem proximi conscientia turbetur aut lædatur. Quod si ejusmodi ritus aut ordinationes alio animo ac consilio instituuntur, aut observantur, quam ut sint exercitia quædam, admonitiones, et pædagogicæ, quæ excitent et conducant ad eas res in quibus sita est vera pietas et justitia; nos talem institutionem et observationem omnino improbandam et rejiciendam esse dicimus.

* Confess. August. § xv.

Non enim remissio peccatorum, justificatio, et vera pietas tribuenda est ejusmodi ritibus et traditionibus, (nam remissionem peccatoris et justificationem propter Christum gratis per fidem consequimur) sed hoc illistribuendum est, quod quemadmodum nec sine legibus politicis civitas, ita nec sine ritibus ac traditionibus Ecclesiæ ordo servari, confusio vitari, juvenus ac vulgus imperitum erudiri potest, quodque ejusmodi ritus et traditiones ad pietatem et spirituales animi motus non parum adminiculantur et prosunt. Quod si ullæ traditiones aliquid præcipiunt contra verbum Dei, vel quod sine peccato præstari non potest, nos ejusmodi traditiones, tanquam noxias et pestiferas, ab Ecclesia tollendas esse censemus: impias etiam opiniones et superstitiones quæ Christi gloriam ac beneficium lædunt atque obscurant, quoties vel populi ignorantia ac simplicitate, vel prava doctrina aut negligentia pastorum, traditionibus ullis annectuntur et hærent, resecandas penitus et abolendas esse judicamus. Præterea etiam hoc docendi sunt homines, quod ejusmodi rituum ac traditionum externa observatio Deo minime grata sit, nisi his, qui illis utuntur, animus adsit qui eas referat ad pietatem, propter quam institutæ sunt. Ad hæc, quod inter præcepta Dei, et ritus sive traditiones quæ ab hominibus instituuntur, hoc discrimen habendum sit, nempe quod ritus sive traditiones humanitas institutæ, mandatis ac præceptis Dei (quæ in Scripturis traduntur) cedere semper et postponi ubique debeant. Et nihilominus quoniam ordo et tranquillitas Ecclesiæ absque ritibus et ceremoniis conservari non potest, docemus adeo utile esse et necessarium, Ecclesiam habere ritus et ceremonias, ut si ab Ecclesia tollerentur, ipsa illico Ecclesia et dissiparetur et labefactaretur.

Postremo ritus, ceremoniæ, sive traditiones, de quibus antea diximus, non solum propter causas prædictas, verumetiam propter præceptum Dei, qui jubet nos potestatibus obedire, servandæ sunt.

[XII.] De Rebus *Civilibus*.

Misera mortalium conditio peccato corrupta, præceptis ad iniquitatem et ad flagitia ruit, nisi salubri auctoritate retineatur, nec potest publica salus consistere sine justa gubernatione et obedientia; quamobrem benignissimus Deus ordinavit reges,

principes, ac gubernatores, quibus dedit auctoritatem non solum curandi ut populus juxta divinæ legis præscripta vivat, sed etiam legibus aliis reipublicæ commodis, et justa potestate eundem populum continendi ac regendi; hos autem in publicam salutem deputavit Deus, suos in terra ministros, et populi sui duces ac rectores, eisque subjecit universam cujusvis sortis multitudinem reliquam. Atque ob eam causam multa ac diligenter de illis in Scripturis tradit. Primum quidem, ut ipsi cœlestibus præceptis erudiantur ad sapientiam et virtutem, quo sciant cujus sint ministri, et concessum a Deo iudicium et auctoritatem legitime atque salubriter exerceant; juxta illud, "Erudimini qui iudicatis terram, servite Domino in timore." Deinde vero præcipit, atque illis in hoc ipsum auctoritatem dat, ut pro conditione reipublicæ suæ, salutare ac justas leges (quoad pro virili possint) provideant atque legitime condant, per quas non solum æquitas, justitia, et tranquillitas in republica retineri, sed etiam pietas erga Deum promoveri possit; atque insuper ut legis Dei atque Christianæ religionis tuendæ curam habeant, quemadmodum Augustinus diserte fatetur, dicens, "In hoc reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem." Proinde principum ac gubernatorum potestas et officium est, non solum pro sua et reipublicæ incolumitate ac salute justa bella suscipere, probos amplecti et fovere, in improbos animadvertere, pauperes tueri, afflictos et vim passos eripere, arcere injurias, et ut ordo et concordia inter subditos conservetur, atque quod suum est cuique tribuatur curare; verum etiam prospicere, et (si causa ita postulaverit) etiam compellere, ut universi tam sacerdotes quam reliqua multitudo officiis suis rite et diligenter fungantur, omnem denique operam suam adhibere, ut boni ad bene agendum invitentur, et improbi a malefaciendo cohibeantur. Et quamvis illi qui timore legum et poenarum corporalium cohibentur a peccando, aut in officio continentur, non eo ipso fiunt pii vel accepti Deo; tamen hucusque proficit salubris coercio, ut et illi qui tales sunt, interim vel minus sint mali, vel saltem minus flagitiorum committant, viamque nonnunquam facilius inveniant ad pietatem, et reliquorum quies ac pietas minus turbetur, scandala et perniciose exempla auferantur

a Christianis cœtibus, et apertis vitiiis aut blasphemiiis nomen Dei et religionis decus quam minimum dehonestetur.

Ad hæc quia necessum est, ut auctoritatem principum, reipublicæ atque rebus humanis summopere necessariam, populus tanquam Dei ordinationem agnoscat et reveretur; idcirco Deus in Scripturis passim præcipit, ut omnes cujuscunque in republica gradus aut conditionis fuerint, promptam et fidelem obedientiam principibus præsentent, idque non solum metu corporalis pœnæ, sed etiam propter Dei voluntatem; quemadmodum Petrus diligenter monet: "Subditi (inquiens) estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi quasi præcellenti, sive ducibus, tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei." Paulus vero in hunc modum; "Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, magistratibus parere, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse, neminem blasphemare." Quod si malus princeps aut gubernator quicquam injuste aut inique imperat subdito, quamvis ille potestate sua contra Dei voluntatem abutatur, ut animam suam lædat, nihilominus subditus debet ejusmodi imperium, quantumvis grave, pati ac sustinere, (nisi certo constet id esse peccatum,) potius quam resistendo publicum ordinem aut quietem perturbare; quod si certo constet peccatum esse quod princeps mandat, tum subditus neque pareat neque reipublicæ pacem quovismodo perturbet, sed pace servata incolumi, et causæ ultione Deo relicta, vel ipsam potius mortem sustineat, quam quicquam contra Dei voluntatem aut præceptum perpetret.

Porro quemadmodum de obedientia principibus exhibenda Scriptura diligenter præcipit, ita etiam ut cætera officia alacriter illis præstemus, monet atque jubet, qualia sunt tributa, vectigalia, militiæ labor, et his similia. Quæ populus, ex Dei præcepto, principibus pendere et præstare debet, propterea quod republicæ absque stipendiis, præsidiis, et magnis sumptibus neque defendi possunt neque regi. Est præterea et honos principibus deferendus, juxta Pauli sententiam, qui jubet, ut principibus honorem exhibeamus. Qui sane honos non in externa duntaxat reverentia et observantia positus est, sed multo verius in animi judicio et voluntate; nempe ut agnoscamus principes a Deo ordinatorum esse, et Deum per eos hominibus ingentia beneficia largiri: ad hæc ut principes propter Deum et metuamus et amemus, et ut ad omnem pro

viribus gratitudinem illis præstandam parati simus: postremo ut Deum pro principibus precemur, uti servet eos, ac eorum mentes semper inflectat ad Dei gloriam et salutem reipublicæ. Hæc si fecerimus, vere principes honorabimus, juxta Petri præceptum, "Deum timete, Regem honorificate." Quæ cum ita sint, non solum licet Christianis principibus ac gubernatoribus regna et ditiones possidere, atque dignitatibus et muneribus publicis fungi, quæ publicam salutem spectant, et undecunque promovent vel tumentur, uti supra diximus, verum etiam quando in ejusmodi functionibus respiciunt honorem Dei, et eodem dignitatem suam atque potestatem referunt, valde placent Deo, ejusque favorem, ac gratiam ampliter demerentur. Sunt enim bona opera quæ Deus præmiis magnificentissimis non in hac duntaxat vita, sed multo magis in æterna, cohonestat atque coronat.

Licet insuper Christianis universis, ut singuli quique pro suo gradu ac conditione juxta divinas ac principum leges et honestas singularum regionum consuetudines, talia munia atque officia obeant et exerceant, quibus mortalis hæc vita vel indiget, vel ornatur, vel conservatur. Nempe ut victum quærant ex honestis artibus, negotientur, faciant contractus, possideant proprium, res suas jure postulent, militent, copulentur legitimo matrimonio, præsent jusjurandum et hujusmodi. Quæ omnia, quemadmodum universis Christianis, pro sua cujusque conditione ac gradu, divino jure licita sunt, ita cum pii subditi propter timorem Dei, principibus ac gubernatoribus suis promptam atque debitam præsent obedientiam, cæteraque student peragere, quæ suum officium et reipublicæ utilitas postulat, placent etiam ipsi magnopere Deo, et bona faciunt opera, quibus Deus ingentia præmia promittit, et fidelissime largitur.

[XIII.] De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio Extremo.

Credendum firmiter atque docendum censemus, quod in summatione mundi, Christus sicut ipsemet apud Matthæum affirmat, venturus est in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis, et majestate, ac potentia, sessurusque super sedem majestatis suæ. Et quod in eodem adventu, summa celeritate, in momento temporis, ictu oculi, divina potentia sua suscitabit mortuos, sistetque

in eisdem in quibus hic vixerunt corporibus ac carne coram tribunali suo cunctos homines, qui unquam ab exordio mundi fuerunt, aut postea unquam usque in illam diem futuri sunt. Et judicabit exactissimo atque justissimo judicio singulos, et reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, quæ in hac vita et corpore gessit: piis quidem ac justis æternam vitam et gloriam cum sanctis angelis, impiis vero et sceleratis æternam mortem atque supplicium, cum Diabolo et prævaricatoribus angelis. Præterea quod in illo judicio perfecta et perpetua fiet separatio proborum ab improbis, et quod nullum erit postea terrenum regnum aut terrenarum voluptatum usus, qualia quidam errore decepti somniaverunt. Demum quod nullus post hoc judicium erit finis tormentorum malis, qui tunc condemnabuntur ad supplicia, sicut nec ullus finis beatitudinis bonis, qui in illo die acceptabuntur ad gloriam.

APPENDIX

No. III.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION

IN THE REIGNS OF

KING EDWARD VI. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The following series of Articles comprise—

- I. The forty-five Articles (1552), from the copy in *State-Papers* 'Domestic,' Edw. VI. vol. xv. No. 28, signed by six royal chaplains (see above, pp. 73, 74); and
- II. In separate columns—
 - (1) the Latin edition published by Wolfe, in 1553;
 - (2) the English edition published *separately* in the June of the same year by Grafton (see above, p. 75);
 - (3) the Latin edition of Wolfe, published in 1563, by the express authority of the Queen (see above, p. 140);
 - (4) the English edition of 1571, printed by Jugge and Cawood, and 'put fourth by the Queenes auctoritie.'

The more important various readings derived from the MS. above mentioned are marked *A*.

The Articles of 1553 have also been collated with a copy of the edition published by Wolfe, as an appendix to the *Catechismus Brevis*, in 1553 (see above, p. 75). The various readings obtained from thence are marked *B*.

Other variations occur in Bishop Hooper's Articles, as circulated in his dioceses during the years 1551 and 1552, apparently both in Latin and English (see above, pp. 77 sqq.).

The particular variations contained in the record of Hooper's controversy with Joliffe and Johnson are marked *J*.

In selecting the *Latin* Articles of 1563, and the *English* Articles of 1571, my aim was to exhibit the series in a shape which has the fairest claim to be regarded as the authorised expression of the Church's mind in each of those years respectively: see pp. 155 sq.

For the *Latin* Articles, collations have been drawn (1) from the Parker *Latin* MS. of 1563, and (2) from the Latin edition of 1571, printed by John Day, and published 'authoritate serenissimæ Reginae.'

These various readings are marked *C* and *E* respectively.

For the *English* Articles, collations have been drawn (1) from the Parker *English* MS. of 1571, and (2) from the English version of the Articles of 1563, entitled in the Bill of 1566 the *Little Book* (see above, p. 145).

These various readings are again distinguished by the letters *D*, and *LB*, respectively.

A few more various readings, from other MSS. in the *State-Paper Office*, will be noticed fully as they occur.

Where new matter was introduced into the Articles after the year 1553, attention is called to the change by a blank space included within brackets [].

Where the whole or part of any Article was subsequently dropped, it is here printed in small type.

Where the phraseology was modified, without involving the addition of entirely new matter, the limits of the substitution are denoted by † . . . †.

In a few cases of simple *transposition*, the change will be pointed out by a foot-note.

I.

THE XLV. ARTICLES, 1552.

I. *De fide Trinitatis.*

Unus est vivus et verus Deus æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentiae, sapientiae, ac bonitatis, Creator ac conservator omnium cum visibilium tum invisibilium; et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres sunt personæ ejusdem essentialis, potentiae ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, ac Spiritus sanctus.

II. *Verbum Dei verum hominem esse factum.*

Filius qui est Verbum patris in utero beatæ virginis naturam humanam ex ejus substantia assumpsit, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personæ fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ, ex quibus est unus Christus, verus Deus et verus homo, qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

III. *De descensu Christi ad Inferos.*

Quemadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita etiam credendus est ad inferos descendisse: nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, Spiritus ab eo emissus cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive inferno detinebantur fuit, illisque prædicavit; quemadmodum testatur Petri locus. At suo ad Inferos descensu nullos a carceribus aut tormentis liberavit Christus Dominus.

IV. *Resurrectio Christi.*

Christus vere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus recepit, cum quibus in cælum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad judicandos homines revertatur.

V. *Divinæ Scripturæ doctrina sufficit ad salutem.*

Scriptura sacra continet omnia quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea neque legitur neque inde probari potest, (licet

interdum a fidelibus ut conducibile ad ordinem et decorum admittatur,) attamen a quoquam non exigendum est, ut tanquam articulus fidei tradatur, et ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.

VI. *Vetus Testamentum non est rejiciendum.*

Testamentum Vetus quasi novo contrarium sit non est repudiandum, sed retinendum: quandoquidem tam in veteri quam in novo per Christum, qui unicus est mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, æterna vita humano generi proposita est. Quare non sunt audiendi qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt.

VII. *Symbola tria.*

Symbola tria, Nicenum inquam, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolicum vocatur, omnino recipienda sunt. Nam firmissimis Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.

VIII. *Peccatum originale.*

Peccatum originis non est, ut fabulantur Pelagiani, et hodie Anabaptistæ repetunt, in imitatione Adami situm, verum in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur, et naturam hominum ita vitiat et depravat, ut a prima institutione quam longissime distet.

Manet etiam in renatis concupiscentia et depravatio naturæ, qua fit ut caro semper concupiscat adversus spiritum, et affectus carnis, Græcè *φρόνημα* (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis vocant,) legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quamquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen rationem in sese habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

IX. *De libero arbitrio.*

Absque gratia Dei, quæ per Christum est, nos preveniente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda quæ Deo grata sunt et accepta nihil valemus.

X. *De gratia.*

Gratia Christi seu Spiritus sanctus, qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, et dat cor carneum, atque licet ex nolentibus quæ recta sunt volentes faciat, et volentibus prava nolentes reddat, voluntati nihilominus violentiam nullam infert. Et nemo hac de

caussa cum peccaverit seipsum excusare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ideoque accusari non mereatur aut damnari.

XI. *De hominis justificatione.*

Justificatio ex sola fide Jesu Christi, eo sensu quo in homilia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina.

XII. *Opera ante Justificationem.*

Opera quæ sunt ante justificationem, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam, ut multi vocant, de congruo merentur: imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

XIII. *Opera Supererogationis.*

Opera, quæ supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari; nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere, quæ tenentur, sed plus in gratiam ejus facere quam deberent. Cum aperte Christus dicat, cum feceritis omnia quæcumque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus.

XIV. *Nemo præter Christum sine peccato est.*

Christus in nostræ naturæ veritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis tum in carne tum in spiritu; venit ut agnus absque macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret, et peccatum, ut inquit Joannes, in eo non erat: sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes, et si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XV. *De Peccato in Spiritum sanctum.*

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum est peccatum in Spiritum sanctum, et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a baptismo in peccata, locus penitentis non est negandus.

Post acceptum Spiritum sanctum possumus a data gratia recidere atque peccare, denique per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se, quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus penitentis locum denegant.

XVI. *Blasphemia in Spiritum sanctum quid sit.*

Blasphemia in Spiritum sanctum est, cum quis verborum Dei manifeste perceptam veritatem ex malicia et obfirmatione animi convitiis insectatur; et hostiliter insequitur: atque hujusmodi quia maledicto sunt obnoxii, et reprobi, per poenitentiam non amplius restitui possunt; unde peccati hoc genus irremissibile a Domino affirmatur.

XVII. *De Prædestinatione et electione.*

Prædestinatio ad vitam est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta suo consilio nobis quidem occulto constanter decrevit eos quos elegit ex hominum genere a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta per Christum ad æternam salutem perducere: unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt affecti, spiritu ejus opportuno tempore vocantur, vocationi per gratiam credunt, justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios, Unigeniti Christi Jesu imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum prædestinationis et electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis, et hiis qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad superna et cœlestia rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute per Christum consequenda plurimum stabilis atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum erga Deum vehementer accendit; ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos Diabolus pertrudit vel in desperationem, vel in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem. Deinde licet prædestinationis decreta (quatenus homines de hominibus judicare possunt) sint nobis ignota, promissiones tamen divinas (quibus fides innitens certos nos reddit, de nostrâ salute) sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt, et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in Verbo Dei habemus discrete revelatam.

XVIII. *Tantum in nomine Jesu Christi speranda est salus æterna.*

Sunt et illi anathematizandi, qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur servandum esse, modo juxta illam, et lumen naturæ, innocenter vixerit: cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

XIX. *Omnes obligantur ad moralia legis præcepta servanda.*

Lex a Deo data per Mosen, licet quoad ceremonias et ritus Christianos non astringat, neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua Republica necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus ab obedientia mandatorum, quæ moralia vocantur, nullus quantumvis Christianus est absolutus: quare illi non sunt audiendi, qui sacras literas tantum infirmis datas esse perhibent, et spiritum perpetuo jactant, a quo sibi quæ prædicant suggeri asserunt, quanquam cum sacris literis apertissime pugnent.

XX. *De Ecclesia.*

Ecclesia Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, atque Sacramenta, quoad ea quæ necessario exiguntur, juxta institutum Christi recte administrantur.

Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena, ita erravit et Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et ceremoniarum ritus, verum in hiis etiam quæ credenda sunt.

XXI. *De Ecclesiæ autoritate.*

Ecclesiæ non licet quippiam constituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, neque unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXII. *De Autoritate Conciliorum generalium.*

Generalia consilia sine jussu et voluntate Principum congregari non possunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes spiritu et verbis Dei reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt, etiam in hiis quæ ad summam pietatis pertinent. Ideo quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robor habent neque autoritatem, nisi ostendantur è sacris literis esse desumpta.

Possunt Reges et pii Magistratus, non expectata conciliorum generalium sententia aut convocazione, in Republica sua juxta Dei verbum de rebus religionis constituere.

XXIII. *De Purgatorio.*

Scholasticorum doctrina de purgatorio, de precatione pro defunctis, derindulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione cum Imaginum tum reliquiarum, nec non de invocatione Sanctorum, res est futilis,

inaniter confecta, et nullis scripturarum testimoniis innititur, imo verbo Dei perniciose contradicit.

XXIV. *Nemo in Ecclesia ministret, nisi vocatus.*

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi sacramenta in ecclesia bene constituta, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus.

Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini juxta verbum Dei publice concessa est in ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXV. *Agendum in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populo nota.*

Decentissimum est, et verbo Dei maxime congruit, ut nihil in ecclesia legatur aut recitetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit nisi adesset qui interpretaretur.

XXVI. *De Sacramentis.*

Dominus noster Jesus Christus sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatu facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit. Sicuti est Baptismus, et cena Domini, quæ duo tantum in ecclesia pro Sacramentis a Christo Domino sunt instituta, et quæ sola sacramentorum propriam rationem habent.

Sacramenta non instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, set ut rite illis uteremur; et in hiis duntaxat, qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, idque non ex opere, ut quidam loquuntur, operato, quæ vox, ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium, sed admodum superstitiosum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

Sacramenta per Dei verbum instituta non tantum sunt notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed certa quædam potius testimonia, et efficacitæ signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

XXVII. *Ministrorum malicia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum.*

Quamvis in ecclesia visibili bonis mali sint semper admixti, atque interdu ministerio verbi et Sacramentorum administrationi præsent, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et

authoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in sacramentis percipiendis, neque per illorum maliciam effectus institutorum Domini tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide ac rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutum Christi et promissionem efficaciter sunt, licet per malos administrantur. Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet ut in eos inquiratur, accusentur ab hiis qui eorum flagitia noverunt, atque tandem justo convicti iudicio deponantur.

XXVIII. *De Baptismo.*

Baptismus non est tantum signum professionis, aut discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum recte baptismum suscipientes Ecclesiæ visibiliter inserimur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per spiritum sanctum obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur.

Baptismus infantium Christianorum et laudandus est, et omnino in ecclesia retinendus.

XXIX. *De Cæna Dominica.*

Cæna dominica non est tantum signum mutæ benevolentis Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis, atque adeo rite, digne, atque cum fide sumentibus panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter et poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

XXX. *De transsubstantiatione.*

Panis et vini transsubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis scripturæ verbis adversatur, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

XXXI. *De Corporali Christi præsentia in Eucharistia.*

Quum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat ut in multis locis simul esse non possit, sed certo quodam et definito, idcirco Christi corpus in multis et diversis locis eodem tempore præsens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt sacræ literæ, Christus in cælum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem sæculi est permansurus, non debet quam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis realem et corporalem, ut loquuntur, præsentiam in eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.

XXXII. *Sacramentum Eucharistiæ non asservandum.*

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi nec servabatur, nec circumferabatur, nec elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

XXXIII. *De unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta.*

Oblatio Christi semel facta perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus, neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde Missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum pro vivis et defunctis, figmenta sunt et perniciosæ imposturæ.

XXXIV. *Calibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini.*

Episcopis, Præbyteris, et Diaconis non est mandatum ut cœlibatum voveant, neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere, si donum non habeant, tametsi voverint, quandoquidem hoc voti genus verbo Dei repugnat.

XXXV. *Excommunicati vitandi sunt.*

Qui per publicam ecclesiæ denunciationem propter capitalia crimina ab unitate ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, Is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.

XXXVI. *Traditiones ecclesiasticæ.*

Traditiones atque ceremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles. Nam et variæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra Dei verbum instituitur.

Traditiones et ceremonias ecclesiasticas, quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisque privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice ut cæteri timeant arguendus est.

XXXVII. *Homiliæ.*

Homiliæ, nuper Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ per injunctiones Regias traditæ atque commendatæ, piæ sunt et salutares, atque doctrinam ab omnibus amplectendam continent: quare populo diligenter et expedite clareque recitandæ sunt.

XXXVIII. *De libro Cereemoniarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

Libër qui nuperrime autoritate Regis et Parlamenti ecclesiæ Anglicanæ traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi et sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: Similiter et libellus ille, eadem autoritate æditus, de ordinatione Ministrorum ecclesiæ, quoad doctrinæ veritatem pii sunt, et quoad cereemoniarum rationem salutarî Evangelii libertati, si ex sua natura cereemoniæ illæ æstimentur, in nullo repugnant, sed probe congruunt, et eandem in complurimis inprimis promovent, atque ideo ab omnibus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fidelibus membris, et maxime a Ministris verbi, cum omni promptitudine animorum et gratiarum actione recipiendi, approbandi, et populo Dei sunt commendandi.

XXXIX. *De Civilibus Magistratibus.*

Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris post Christum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ, neque in universo orbe ullum seipso majorem agnoscit, a quo sua potestas et autoritas pendeat.

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Magistratus Civilis est a Deo ordinatus atque probatus: quamobrem illi propter conscientiam obediendum est, nec ulli ex ejus subditis licet aut vectigal aut tributum negare, ad regni seu Reipublicæ statum tuendum et conservandum.

Leges Civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia et gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare, et juste bella administrare.

XL. *Christianorum bona non sunt communia.*

Facultates et bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad jus et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistæ falso jactant. Debet tamen quisque de hiis quæ possidet pro facultatum ratione pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

XLI. *Licet Christianis jurare.*

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum et temerarium a Domino nostro Jesu Christo, et ab apostolo ejus Jacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianam religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin jubente Magistratu in causa fidei et charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam in justitia, judicio, et veritate.

XLII. *Resurrectio mortuorum nondum facta est.*

Resurrectio mortuorum non adhuc facta est, quasi tantum ad animum pertineat, qui per Christi gratiam a morte peccatorum excitetur: sed extremo die quoad omnes qui obierint expectanda est: tunc enim vita functis, ut scripturæ manifestissime testantur, propria corpora, carnes et ossa restituentur, ut homo integer, prout vel recte vel perditè vixit, juxta sua opera, sive præmia, sive pœnas reportet.

XLIII. *Defunctorum animæ neque cum corporibus intereunt, neque otiose dormiunt.*

Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii dormire, aut illas asserunt una cum corpore mori, et extrema die cum illo excitandas, ab orthodoxa fide quæ nobis in sacris literis traditur prorsus dissentiant.

XLIV. *Milliarii.*

Qui Milliariorum fabulam revocare conantur, sacris literis adversantur, et in Judaïca deliramenta sese præcipitant.

XLV. *Non omnes tandem servandi sunt.*

Hii quoque damnatione digni sunt, qui conantur hodie perniciosam opinionem instaurare, quod omnes, quantumvis impii, tandem servandi sunt, cum definito tempore a justitia divina pœnas de admissis flagitiis luerint.

JO. HARLEY.
WILLM^s. BILL.
ROBERTUS HORNE.
ANDREAS FERNE.
EDMUNDUS GRINDALL.
JO. KNOES.

II.

ARTICLES, 1552—1571.

1552 [1553].

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, *Anno Dom. M.D.LII.* ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et alios Eruditos Viros convenerat.¹

1552 [1553].

Articles agreed on by the Bishoppes, and other learned menne in the Synode at London, in the yere of our Lorde Godde, M.D.LII. for the auoiding of controuersie in opinions, and the establisshement of a godlie conuerse, in certeine matiers of Religion.

1562 [1563].

Articuli, de quibus in synodo Londinensi anno Domini, iuxta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ computationem, M.D.LXII. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et firmandum in vera Religione consensum, inter Archiepiscopos Episcoposque utriusque Prouinciæ, nec non etiam uniuersum Clerum conuenit.

1571.

Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishopbes and Bishoppes of both prouinces and the whole cleargie, in the Conuocation holden at London in the yere of our Lorde God. 1562. according to the computation of the Churche of Englande, for the auoiding of the diuersities of opinions, and for the stablishing of consent touching true Religion.

¹ *B adds, regia autoritate in lucem editi.*

1553.

I.

De fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem.

Unus est vivus et verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentie, sapientie, ac bonitatis, creator et conservator omnium, tum visibilium tum invisibilium. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres sunt personæ, ejusdem essentie, potentie, ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

II.

Verbum Dei verum hominem esse factum.

Filius qui est verbum patris, [] in utero beatæ Virginis, ex illius substantiâ naturam humanam assumpsit, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina & humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personæ fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ, ex quibus est unus *Christus*, verus Deus et verus homo, qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

1553.

I.

Of faith in the holie Trinitie.¹

There is but one living, and true God, and he is euerlasting, with out bodie, partes, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodnesse, the maker, and preseruer of all things bothe visible, and inuisible, and in vnitie of this Godhead there be three persones of one substaunce, power, and eternitie, the Father, the Soone, and the holie Ghost.

II.

That the words, or Sonne of God, was made a very man.

The sonne whiche is the woordes of the father, [] tooke mannes nature in the wombe of the blessed virgine Marie of her Substaunce, so that two hole, and perfecte natures, that is to saie, the Godhead, and manhode were ioigned together into one persone, neuer to be diided, wherof is one Christe very God, and very manne, who truely suffred, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to vs, and to be a Sacrifice † for all sinne of manne, bothe originall, and actual. †

¹ Cf. the 2nd of Hooper's Articles cited above, pp. 80, 81.

1563.

I.

De fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem.

Vnus est viuus et uerus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensæ potentis, sapientis ac bonitatis: creator et conseruator omnium tum uisibillum tum inuisibillum. Et in Vnitate huius diuinæ naturæ tres sunt Personæ, eiusdem essentis, potentis, ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus.

II.

*Verbum Dei uerum hominem esse factum.*²

Filius, qui est uerbum Patris, ab æterno à patre genitus uerus et æternus Deus, ac Patri consubstantialis, in utero Beatæ uirginis ex illius substantia naturam humanam assumpsit: ita ut duæ naturæ, diuina et humana, integrè atque perfectè in unitate personæ, fuerint inseparabiliter coniunctæ: ex quibus est⁴ vnus CHRISTVS, uerus Deus et uerus Homo: qui nerè passus est, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque⁵ non tantum pro culpa origi-

1571.

I.

Of fayth in the holy Trinitie.

There is but one luyng and true God,² euerlastyng, without body, partes, or passions, of infinite power, wysdome, and goodnesse, the maker and preseruer of al things both visible and inuisible. And in vnitie of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substaunce, power, and eternitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost.

II.

*Of the worde or sonne of God which was made very man.*³

The Sonne, which is the worde of the Father, begotten from euerlastyng of the Father, the very and eternall GOD, of one substaunce with the father, toke man's nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, of her substaunce: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and manhood, were ioyned together in one person, neuer to be diuided, whereof is one Christe, very GOD and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his

² D and LB add and he is before euerlasting: cf. col. 2.

³ De uerbo, siue filio Dei, qui uerus homo factus est E.

⁴ est] et C.

⁵ essetque] A inserts *hostia* after this word, agreeing with the other copies. The omission, therefore, might be due to an error of the press.

⁶ That the Worde or Sonne of God was made verie man D, LB.

1558.

1558.

III.

De descensu Christi ad Inferos.

Quemadmodum *Christus* pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad inferos descendisse. Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit, Spiritus ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit, illisque prædicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus.¹

IV.

Resurrectio Christi.

Christus vere à mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in cælum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad judicandos [] homines † revertatur.†

[

III.

Of the goyng doune of Christe into Helle.

As *Christ* died, and was buried for vs: so also it is to be beleued, that he went doune in to hell. For the bodie laie in the Sepulchre, untill the resurrection: but his Ghoste departing from him, was with the Ghostes that were in prison, or in Helle, and didde preache to the same, as the place of S. Peter dooeth testifie.

IV.

The Resurrection of Christe.

Christe didde truelie rise againe from deathe, and tooke again his bodie with flesh, bones, and all thinges appertaining to the perfection of mannes nature, where-with he ascended into Heauen, and there sitteth, untill heretourne to iudge [] men at the last daie.

[

¹ The following sentence is added in A. At suo ad inferos descensu nullos a. carceribus aut tormentis liberavit *Christus Dominus*.

1563.

nis, uerum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

III.

De descensu Christi ad Inferos.

Quemadmodum Christus pro nobis mortuus est et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad Inferos descendisse.³

IV.

*Resurrectio Christi.*⁵

Christus uere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit, cum quibus in cœlum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad extremo die ad iudicandos [] homines reuersurus sit.

V.

De Spiritu sancto.

Spiritus sanctus, à patre et filio procedens, eiusdem est cum patre

1571.

father to vs, and to be a sacrifice, not only for originall gylt, but also for all² actual sinnes of men.

III.

Of the goyng downe of Christe into hell.

As Christe dyed for vs, and was buried:⁴ so also it is to be beleued that he went downe into hell.

IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christe.

Christe dyd truely aryse⁶ agayne from death, and toke agayne his body, with flesh, bones, and all thinges apparteinyng to the perfection of mans nature, wherewith he ascended into heauen, and there sitteth, vntyll he returne to iudge all⁷ men at the last day.

V.

Of the holy ghost.

The holy ghost, proceeding from the father and the sonne, is

² all] *The omission of this important word in many modern copies of the Articles is without the least authority. It appears in the edition of 1628, but is dropped as early as 1630, and (deliberately) in the revised text of the Assembly of Divines (1643): cf. Orme's Life and Times of Baxter, i. 488, Lond. 1830.*

³ The second clause of Art. III. col. 1 retained in C, but marked throughout with a red pencil.

⁴ dyed for vs and was buried] dyed and was buried for us LB: cf. col. 2.

⁵ De Resurrectione Christi E.

⁶ aryse] ryse LB: cf. col. 2.

⁷ all] wanting in Latin copies of 1563, but found in E: cf. cols. 1 and 2.

1558.

1558.

]

]

V.

Divinae Scripturae doctrina sufficit ad salutem.

Scriptura sacra continet¹ omnia quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur neque inde probari potest, licet interdum à fidelibus, ut pium et conducibile ad ordinem et decorum² admittatur, attamen † à quoquam non exigendum est † ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur,³ et ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur. [

V.

The doctrine of holie Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.

Holie Scripture conteineth all thinges necessarie to Salvation: So that whatsoever is † neither † read therein, nor maie be proued therby, although it be somtime receued of the faithful, as Godlie, and profitable for an ordre, and comelnesse: Yeast † no manne ought to bee constreigned to beleue it, † as an article of faith, or repute it † requisite to the necessitie † of Salvation. [

¹ continet] sufficienter continet J.

² ad ordinem et decorum] wanting in J.

³ credatur] tradatur A.

1568.

et filio essentia, maiestatis, et gloria, uernus, ac æternus Deus.

1571.

of one substance,⁴ maiestie, and glorie, with the father and the sonne, very and eternall God.

VI.

*Diuinæ Scripturæ doctrina sufficit ad salutem.*⁵

Scriptura sacra continet omnia quæ sunt ad salutem⁶ necessaria, ita ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari potest, non sit à quoquam exigendum, ut tanquam Articulus fidei credatur, aut ad necessitatem salutis⁷ requiri putetur.

Sacræ Scripturæ nomine eos Canonicos libros Veteris et Novi testamenti intelligimus, de quorum autoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.

*Catalogus librorum sacræ Canonice scripturæ Veteris Testamenti.*⁸

Genesis.
Exodus.
Leuiticus.
Numeri.
Deuteronom.
Iosue.
Iudges.

VI.

*Of the sufficiencie of the Holy Scriptures for saluation.*⁹

Holy Scripture conteyneth all thinges necessarie to saluation: so that whatsoeuer is not read therein, nor may be proued thereby, is not to be required of anye man, that it shoulde be beleued as an article of the fayth, or be thought requisite necessarie¹⁰ to saluation.

In the name¹¹ of holy Scripture, we do vnderstande those Canonically bookes of the olde and newe Testament, of whose authoritie was neuer any doubt in the Church.

Of¹² the names and number of the Canonically Bookes.

Genesis.
Exodus.
Leuiticus.
Numerie.
Deuteronomium.
Iosue.
Iudges.

⁴ substance] essence *LB*.

⁵ De Diuinis Scripturis, quod sufficiant ad salutem *E*.

⁶ sunt ad salutem] ad salutem sunt *E*.

⁷ necessitatem salutis] transposed in *E*.

⁸ De nominibus, et numero librorum sacræ canonice Scripturæ Veteris Testamenti *E*.

⁹ The doctrine of holy Scripture is sufficient to saluation *LB, D*.

¹⁰ requisite necessarie] requisite as necessary *LB, D: cf. col. 3*.

¹¹ In the name] By the naming *LB*.

¹² Of] wanting in *LB, D*.

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APPENDIX III.

1553.

1553.

1563.
 Ruth.
 2. Regum.¹
 Paralipom. 2.
 2 Samuelis.
 Esdræ. 2.
 Hester.
 Iob.
 Psalmi.
 Prouerbia.
 Ecclesiastes.
 Cantica.
 Prophetæ maiores.
 Prophetæ minores.

1571.
 Ruth.
 The .1. boke of Samuel.
 The .2. boke of Samuel.
 The .1. booke of Kinges.
 The .2. booke of Kinges.
 The .1. booke of Chroni.
 The .2. booke of Chroni.
 The .1. booke of Esdras.
 The .2. booke of Esdras.
 The booke of Hester.
 The booke of Iob.
 The Psalmes.
 The Prouerbes.
 Ecclesia. or preacher.
 Cantica, or songes of Sa.
 4. Prophetes the greater.
 12. Prophetes the lesse.

Alios autem Libros (ut ait Hieronymus) legit quidem Ecclesia ad exempla uitæ et for- mandos mores, illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet: ut sunt

Tertius et quartus Esdræ.
 Sapientia.
 Iesus filius Syrach.
 Tobias. Iudith.
 Libri Michabæorum. 2.²
 [

And the other bookes, (as Hierome sayth) the Church doth reade for example of lyfe and instruction of maners: ³ but yet doth it not applie them to establishe any doctrine. Such are these following:

The third boke of Esdras.
 The fourth boke of Esdras.
 The booke of Tobias.
 The booke of Iudith.
 The rest of the booke of Hester.⁴
 The booke of Wisdome.
 Iesus the sonne of Sirach.
 Baruch, the prophet.

¹ 2 Regum] *The order of the following books is slightly different in C, E.*

² *The same books are enumerated in State Papers, 'Domestic,' Vol. xxxvii. § 40 (Jan. 31, 1563); whereas in what is termed a fair copy of that draft (Ibid. § 41), the list is given as in 1571, except that the first two books are called The first booke of Esdras and The second booke of Esdras. In § 41, there is also no allusion to the canonical books of the New Testament.*

³ *example of lyfe and instruction of maners] example and for good instruction of lyving LB.*

⁴ *The rest of the booke of Hester] wanting in LB.*

1553.

1553.

VI.

*Vetus Testamentum † non est
rejiciendum. †*

† Testamentum Vetus, quasi Novo contrarium sit, non est repudiandum, sed retinendum, quandoquidem tam in veteri quam in novo per *Christum* qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, æterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare non sunt audiendi, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt. †

[

VI.

*The olde Testaments † is not to be
refused. †*

† The olde Testament is not to be put awaie as though it were contrarie to the newe, but to be kept still: for bothe in the olde, and newe Testaments, everlasting life is offred to mankinde by *Christ*, who is the onelie mediator betwene Godde and manne, being bothe Godde and manne. Wherefore thei are not to be hearde, whiche feigne that the olde Fathers didde looke onely for transitorie promises. †

[

1563.

]

Noui Testamenti Libros omnes ¹
(ut uulgo recepti sunt) recipimus
et habemus pro Canonicis.

VII.

De Veteri Testamento.

Testamentum vetus Nouo con-
trarium non est, quandoquidem
tam in veteri quàm nouo,² per
Christum, qui vnicus est media-
tor Dei et hominum, Deus et
Homo, æterna vita humano ge-
neri est proposita. Quare malè
sentiant, qui veteres tantùm in
promissiones temporarias spe-
rasse confingunt. Quamquam Lex
à Deo data per Mosen, quoad
Ceremonias et ritus, Christianos
non astringat, neque ciuilia eius
præcepta in aliqua Republica
necessariò recipi debeant: nihilo-
minus tamen ab obedientia man-
datorum, quæ Moralia vocantur,
nullus quantumuis Christianus est
solutus.⁴

1571.

Song of the .3. Children.
The storie of Susanna.
Of Bel and the Dragon.
The prayer of Manasses.³
The .1. boke of Machab.
The .2. Booke of Macha.

All the bookes of the newe Tes-
tament, as they are commonly
receaued, we do receaue and ac-
compt them for Canonicall.

VII.

Of the Olde Testament.⁵

The olde Testament is not con-
trary to the newe, for both in the
olde and newe Testament ⁶ euer-
lastyng lyfe is offered to man-
kynde by Christe, who is the
only mediatour betweene God
and man, being both God and man.
Wherefore they are not to be
hearde whiche faigne that the
olde fathers dyd looke onely for
transitorie promises. Although
the lawe geuen from God⁷ by
Moyses, as touchyng ceremonies
and rites, do not bynde Christian
men, nor the ciuile preceptes
therof, ought of necessitie to be
receaued in any common wealthe:
yet notwithstanding, no Christian
man whatsoeuer, is free from the
obedience of the commande-
mentes, whiche are called morall.⁴

¹ Libros omnes] omnes libros *C. E.*

² Baruch . . . Manassee] wanting in *LB.*

³ nouo] in nouo *E.*

⁴ The last clause of *Art. VII.* was transposed from *Art. XIX.* of the elder series.

⁵ Touching the olde Testament *LB.*

⁶ Testament] Testamentas *LB. D.*

⁷ from God] wanting in *LB.*

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VII.

Symbola tria.

Symbola tria, Niceni,¹ Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolicum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt []. Nam firmissimis divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.²

VIII.

Peccatum Originale.

Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani, et hodie Anabaptistæ repetunt) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat: unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio, qua fit ut affectus carnis, *græcè φρόνημα σαρκός*, quod⁴ alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium⁵ [] vocant,

¹ Nicenum inquam A.

² Tria symbola Niceni, Athanasii et Apostolorum recipienda sunt et probantur scripturis sacris J.

³ Cf. Hooper's 3rd Article, for that as these Creeds are in such wise taken out of the Word of God, they do containe in them the sum of all Christian doctrine.

⁴ sed est vitium et depravatio . . . *σαρκός*, quod] verum in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur, et naturam hominum ita vitiat et depravat ut a prima institutione quam longissime distet. Manet etiam in renatis concupiscentia et depravatio naturæ, qua fit ut caro semper concupiscat adversus spiritum, et affectus carnis Græcè *φρόνημα*, quod A.

⁵ A adds *carnis*.

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VII.

*The three Creeds.**

The three Creeds, Nicene Crede, Athanasius Crede, and that whiche is commonlie called the Apostles Crede, ought thoroughly to be received []: for the maie be proued by most certeine warrauntes of holie Scripture.

VIII.

Of originall or birthe sinne.

Originall sinne standeth not in the folowing of Adam, as the Pellagians doe vaineleie talke, whiche also the Anabaptistes doe now a daies renue, but it is the fault, and corruption of the nature of euery manne, that naturallie is engendred of the ofspring of Adam, whereby manne is very farre gone from †his former righteousnesse, whiche he had at his creation † and is of his owne nature †geuen † to euill, so that the fleshe desireth alwaies contrarie to the spirit, and therefore in euery persone borne into this worlde, it deserueth Goddes wrath and damnation: And this

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VIII.

*Symbola tria.*⁸

Symbola tria, Nicænum, Athanasij, et quod vulgo Apostolicum⁷ appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt et credenda. Nam firmissimis Scripturarum testimonijs probari possunt.

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VIII.

Of⁸ the three Credes.

The three Credes, Nicene Crede, Athanasius Crede, and that whiche is commonlye called the Apostles' Crede, ought throughlye to be receaued and beleued: for they may be proued by most certayne warrauntes⁹ of holye scripture.

IX.

*Peccatum Originale.*¹⁰

Peccatum originis non est (vt fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et deprauatio naturæ cuiuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati, qua fit, vt ab originali iustitia quàm longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper aduersus spiritum concupiscat. Vnde in vnoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ deprauatio; qua fit, ut affectus carnis, græce *φρόνημα σαρκός*, (quod alij sapientiam, alij sensum, alij affectum, alij studium¹¹ [] interpretantur) legi Dei non subiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et cre-

IX.

Of originall or birth sinne.

Originall sinne standeth not in the folowing of Adam (as the Pelagians do vaynely talke) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of euery man, that naturally is engendred of the ofspring of Adam, whereby man is very farre gone from originall ryghteousnes,¹² and is of his owne nature enclined¹³ to euyll, so that the fleshe lusteth¹⁴ alwayes contrary to the spirite, and therefore in euery person borne into this worlde, it deserueth Gods wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remayne, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the luste of the fleshe, called in Greke *φρόνημα σαρκός*,

⁸ De Tribus Symbolis E.⁹ Of] wanting in LB, D.¹⁰ De Peccato Originall E.¹¹ studium] C adds carnis in the margin. It is also found in E.¹² original ryghteousnes] his originall righteousnes D; his former ryghteousnes which he had at his creation LB: cf. col. 2.¹³ enclined] geuen LB.⁷ Apostolicum] Apostolorum E.⁹ warrauntes] warraunties LB, D.¹⁴ lusteth] desireth LB.

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legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quamquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter *Christum* est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

1553.

infection of nature doeth remaine, yea in them that are baptized, wherby the lust of the fleashe called in Greke *φρόνημα σαρκός*, (whiche some do expoune, the wisdom, some sensualitie, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh) is not subiect to the lawe of GOD. And although there is no condemnation for them that beleue, and are baptized, yet the Apostle doeth confesse, that concupiscence, and lust hath of it self the nature of sinne.

IX.

De libero arbitrio.

† Absque gratia Dei, quæ per *Christum* est, nos preveniente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valeamus.†

IX.

Of free wille.

† We have no power to dooe good woorkes pleasaunte, and acceptable to God, with out the Grace of God by *Christ*, preventing us that wee maie have a good wille, and working in us, when we have that wille.†

X.

De gratia.

Gratia *Christi*, seu spiritus sanctus qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, et dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quæ recta sunt volentes faciat, et ex volentibus prava, nolentes reddat, voluntati nihilominus violentiam nullam infert. Et nemo hac de causa, cum peccaverit, seipsum excusare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ut eam ob causam¹ accusari non mereatur aut damnari.

X.

Of Grace.

The Grace of *Christ*, or the holle Ghost by him geuen dothe take awaie the stonie harte, and geueth an harte of fleashe. And although, those that have no will to good thinges, he maketh them to will, and those that would euill thinges, he maketh them not to wille the same: Yet neuerthelesse he enforceeth not the wil. And therefore no man when he sinneth can excuse himself, as not worthy to be blamed or condemned, by alleging that he sinned unwillinglie, or by compulsion.

¹ ut eam ob causam] ideoque A.

1563.

dentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

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which some do expounde the wisdom, some sensualitie, some the affection, some the desyre of the fleshe, is not subiect to the lawe of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that beleue and are baptized: yet the Apostle doth confesse that concupiscence and luste hath of it selfe the nature of synne.

X.

De Libero Arbitrio.

Ea est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus ad fidem et invocationem Dei conuertere ac præparare non possit: Quare absque gratia Dei, quæ per Christum est, nos præueniente, ut uelimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil ualemus.

X.

Of free wyll.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is suche, that he can not turne and prepare hym selfe by his owne naturall strength and good workes, to fayth and calling vpon God: Wherefore we haue no power to do good workes pleasaunt and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christe preuentying us, that we may haue a good wyll, and workyng with vs,^a when we haue that good wyll.

^a with vs] in vs LB, D: cf. col. 2.

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XI.

De Hominis justificatione.

† Justificatio ex sola fide Jesu Christi, eo sensu quo in Homelia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina.†

1553.

XI.

Of the Justification of manne.¹

† Justification by onely faith in Jesus Christ in that sence, as it is declared in the homelie of Justification, is a moste certaine, and wholesome doctrine for Christian menne.†

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XII.

Opera ante justificationem.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et Spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt. Neque gratiam (ut multi vocant)²

XII.

Workes before Justification.

Workes done before the Grace of Christe and the inspiratione of his spirite are not pleasant to GOD, forasmoche as thei spring not of faithe in Jesu Christe,

¹ Teach the justification of man to come only by the faith of Jesus Christ and not by the merit of any mans good workes, *Hooper's 7th Article.*

² fiunt ante gratiam . . . vocant] fiunt ante justificationem cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam ut multi vocant A.

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XI.

De Hominis Iustificatione.

Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Iesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, iusti coram Deo reputamur:⁵ Quare sola fide nos iustificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima: ut in Homilia de Iustificatione hominis fusiùs explicatur.

XII.

De bonis Operibus.

Bona opera quæ sunt fructus fidei et iustificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiari⁶ et diuini iudicij seueritatem ferre non possunt, Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo, atque ex vera et iua fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis, æque fides iua cognosci possit, atque arbor ex fructu indicari.

XIII.

Opera ante Iustificationem.⁷

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et spiritus eius afflatum, cum ex fide Iesu Christi non procedant, minimè Deo grata sunt:

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XI.

Of the iustification of man.

We are accompted righteous before God, only for the merite of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christe, by faith, and not for our owne workes or deseruynges. Wherefore, that we are iustified by fayth onely, is⁴ a most wholesome doctrine, and very full⁵ of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homilie of iustification.

XII.

Of good workes.

Albeit that good workes, which are the fruites of fayth, and folowe after iustification, can not put away our sinnes, and endure the seueritie of Gods iudgement: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christe, and do spring out necessarily of a true and liuely fayth, in so muche that by them, a liuely fayth may be as evidently knowen, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII.

Of⁸ workes before iustification.

Workes done before the grace of Christe, and the inspiration of his spirite, are not pleasaunt to God, forasmuch as they spring

⁵ reputamur] reputemur C, E.

⁶ [is] it is LB, D (but corrected in the latter).

⁷ expiari] explare C, E.

⁸ Of] wanting in LB, D.

⁴ very full] full LB.

⁷ De operibus ante iustificationem E.

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de congruo merentur: Imo cum non sint¹ facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

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neither do thei make menne mete to receive Grace, or (as the Schole aucthoures saie) deserue grace of congruities: but because thei are not done as god hath willed and commaunded them to bee done, we doubt not, but thei haue the nature of sinne.²

XIII.

Opera Supererogationis.

Opera quæ Supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari, nam illis³ declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur,⁴ sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat, *Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus.*

XIII.

Woorkes of Supererogation.

Voluntarie woorkes besides, ouer, and aboue Goddes commaundementes, whiche thei cal woorkes of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancie, and † iniquitie. † For by theim menne dooe declare, that thei dooe not onely rendre to GOD, as moche as thei are bounde to dooe, but that thei dooe more for his sake, then of bounden duetie is required: Whereas Christe saieith plainelie: when you haue dooen al that are commaunded you, saie, We be unprofitable seruauntes.

XIV.

Nemo præter Christum est sine peccato.

Christus in nostræ naturæ veritate, per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo

XIV.

No man is without sinne, but Christe alone.

Christe in the trusth of our nature was made like unto us in al thinges, sinne onely except,

¹ sint] sunt J.

² albeit that good woorkes do necessarily follow justification; the which before justification are of no value or estimation before God, *Hooper's 7th Article.*

³ illis] illa J.

⁴ tenentur] teneantur J.

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neque gratiam (ut multi^s uocant) de congruo merentur: Imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri uoluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

XIV.

*Opera Supererogationis.*⁷

Opera quæ supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari. Nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur, sed plus in eius gratiam facere quam deberent: cum apertè Christus dicat: Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt uobis, dicite: Serui inutiles sumus.

XV.

*Nemo præter Christum sine peccato.*¹⁰

Christus in nostræ naturæ ueritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, à quo

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not of fayth in Jesu Christ, neither do they make men meete to receaue grace, or (as the schole aucthours saye) deserue grace of congruitie: yea rather for that^s they are not done as GOD hath wylled and commaunded them to be done, we doubt not but they haue the nature of synne.

XIV.

Of^s workes of supererogation.

Voluntarie workes besydes, ouer and aboue Gods commaundementes, which they call workes of supererogation, can not be taught without arrogancie and impietie. For by them men do declare that they do not onely render vnto God as muche as they are bounde to do, but that they do more for his sake then of bounden duetie is required: Whereas Christe sayth playnly, When ye haue done al that are commaunded to you,⁹ say, We be vnprofitable seruantes.

XV.

*Of Christe alone without sinne.*¹¹

Christe in the trueth of our nature, was made lyke vnto vs in al thinges (sinne only except)

⁷ multi = Schole-aucthors. *The same is observable in the elder Articles.*

⁸ Yea rather for that] but because *LB: cf. col. 2.*

⁹ De operibus Supererogationis *E.* ⁹ Of] wanting in *LB, D.*

¹⁰ to you] wanting in *LB.*

¹⁰ Nemo præter Christum est sine peccato *E.*

¹¹ No man is without sinne but Chryst alone *LB, D.*

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prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit¹ ut agnus absque² macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam³ tolleret: et peccatum (ut inquit Joannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes, et⁴ si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XV.

De peccato † in spiritum sanctum.†

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in spiritum sanctum et irremissibile: proinde lapsis à baptismo in peccata, locus penitentiæ non est negandus. Post acceptum spiritum sanctum possumus à gratia data recedere atque peccare, denoque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus penitentiæ locum denegant.

¹ Venit] Venit enim *J.*

² semel factam] wanting in *J.*

⁴ etiam baptizati . . . omnes, et] quicumque sumus *J.*

1553.

from whiche he was clearelye uoide bothe in his fleshe, and in his spirite. He came to be the lambe without spotte, who by sacrifice of himself made ones for euer, should take away the sinnes of the worlde: and sinne (as Saint Jhon saieth) was not in him. But the rest, yea, althoughe we be baptized, and borne againe in Christe, yeat we all offende in many thinges: and if we saie, we haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues, and the trueth is not in us.

XV.

Of sinne † against the holie Ghoste.†

Euery deadlie sinne willinglie committed after Baptisme, is not sinne against the holie Ghost, and unpardonable: wherfore the place for penitentes, is not to bee denied to soche as fall into sinne after Baptisme. After we haue receiued the holie Ghoste, we maie departe from grace geuen, and fall into sinne, and by the grace of GOD wee maie rise again, and amende our liues. And therefore thei are to be condemned, whiche saie, thei can no more sinne as long as thei live here, or denie the place for penitentes to soche as trulie repent, and amende their liues.

² absque] sine *J.*

1563.

prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit, ut Agnus absque macula esset,⁵ qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam, tolleret: et peccatum (ut inquit Ioannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: Et si dixerimus quia⁶ peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XVI.

*De Lapsis post Baptismum.*⁹

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum uoluntariè perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum sanctum et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis à baptismo in peccata, locus penitentiæ non est negandus. Post acceptum spiritum sanctum, possumus à gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuòque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideòque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic uiuant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut verè resipi.

1571.

from which he was clearley voyde, both in his fleshe, and in his spirite. He came to be the lambe without spot, who by the sacrifice of hym self once made,⁷ shoulde take away the sinnes of the worlde: and sinne, (as S. John sayeth) was not in hym. But al we the rest, (although baptizd, and borne agayne in Christe) yet offende⁸ in many thinges, and if we say we haue no sinne, we deceaue our selues, and the trueth is not in vs.

XVI.

Of sinne after Baptisme.

Not euery deadly sinne willingly committed after baptisme, is¹⁰ sinne agaynst the holy ghost, and vnpardonable. Wherefore, the graunt of repentance¹¹ is not to be denyed to such as fal into sinne after baptisme. After we haue receaued the holy ghost, we may depart from grace geuen, and fall into sinne, and by the grace of God (we may) aryse¹² agayne and amend our lynes. And therefore, they are to be condemned, whiche say they can

⁵ esset] wanting in E. It exists, however, in other copies of 1571.

⁶ quia] Some modern editions have quod, but without authority.

⁷ once made] made once for euer LB.

⁸ al we the rest . . . offend] we the reste although baptised and borne againe in Christe, yet we all offende, D: the rest, although we be baptised, and borne again in Chryste, yet we offende LB: cf. col. 2.

⁹ De peccato post Baptismum E: De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum C.

¹⁰ Not euery . . . is] Euery . . . is not LB: cf. col. 2.

¹¹ graunt of repentance] place for penitence LB, D: cf. place for penitentes col. 2.

¹² aryse] ryse LB: cf. col. 2.

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XVI.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum, est cum quis Verborum Dei manifestè perceptam veritatem, ex malitia et obfirmatione animi, convitiis insectatur, et hostiliter insequitur. Atque hujusmodi, quia maledicto sunt obnoxii,¹ gravissimo sese astringunt sceleris. Unde peccati hoc genus irremissibile à Domino appellatur, et² affirmatur.

XVII.

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad vitam est æternam Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit eos quos [] elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem effecta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere:³ unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi, spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur,⁴ vocationi per gratiam parent,⁵ justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios, unigeniti Jesu Christi imaginem efficiuntur conformes, in

1553.

XVI.

Blasphemie against the h

Blasphemie against the h when a man of malice and of minde, doeth rail upon goddes word manifestlie p being enemy therunto pe same. And because soche Goddes curse, thei entangl with a moste grienous, and l wherupon this kinde of s and affirmed of the Lorde, v

XVII.

Of predestination an

Predestination to l euerlasting purpose whereby (before the f of the worlde were lai constantlie decreed b judgemente secrete deliuer from curse, a tion those whom he l [] out of ma to bring them to saluation by Christ, i made to honour : soche as hane so benefite of GOD geuer be called, according purpose, by his spirit in due seaseone, thei th obeie the calling, thei

¹ obnoxii] et reprobis per penitentiam non amplius restitui possunt;

² appellatur et] *wanting in A.*

³ adducere] *perducere A.*

⁴ donati illi . . . vocantur] affecti, spiritu ejus opportuno tempore v

⁵ parent] *credunt A.*

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scenentibus pœnitentiæ⁶ locum denegant.

1571.

no more sinne as long as they lyue here, or denie the place of forgenenesse to such as truely repent.⁷

XVII.

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad uitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante iacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decreuit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, à maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut uasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere: Vnde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi spiritu eius opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum eius uocantur: uocationi per gratiam parent: iustificantur gratis: adoptantur in filios: vnigeniti Iesu Christi imagini efficiuntur

XVII.

Of predestination and election.

Predestination to lyfe, is the euerlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were layd) he hath constantly decreed by his counsell secrete to vs,⁸ to deliuer from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christe out of mankynde, and to bryng them by Christe to euerlastyng saluation, as vessels made to honouze. Wherefore⁹ they which be indued with so excellent a benefite of God,¹⁰ be called accordyng to Gods purpose by his spirite workyng in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be

⁶ pœnitentiæ] uenitæ E.

⁷ LB adds and amende theyr lyues: cf. col. 2, p. 308.

⁸ by his counsell secrete to us] wanting in LB: cf. col. 2.

⁹ Wherefore] Wherevpon LB: cf. col. 2.

¹⁰ they which be indued with so excellent a benefite of God] such as haue so excellent a benefite of God, giuen vnto them LB: they which be endued with so excellent a benefite of God, geuen unto them D.

1558.

citetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit, nisi adesset qui interpretaretur†.

1558.

that in the congregation nothing be openlie readde, or spoken in a tongue vnknewen to the people,¹ the whiche thing S. Paule didde forbidde, except some were presente that should declare the same†.

XXVI.

De Sacramentis.

Domnus noster Jesus Christus Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatu facilissimis, significatione prestantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus et Cœna Domini.²

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Sacramenta non instituta sunt à Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur: et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato; quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime plum³ sed admodum superstitiosum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.⁴

Sacramenta per Verbum Dei

XXVI.

Of the Sacramentes.

Our LORDE Jesus Christe hathe knitt together a companie of newe people with Sacramentes, mooste fewe in nombre, mooste easie to bee kepte, mooste excellent in significatione, as is Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.

[

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The Sacramentes were not ordeined of Christe to be gased vpon, or to be caried about, but that we shoulde rightlie use them. And in soche onely, as worthelie receive the same, thei haue an wholesome effecte, and operacione, and yet not that of the woorke wrought,¹ as some men speake, whiche worde, as it is straunge, and vnknewen to holle Scripture: So it engendreth no Godlie, but a verie superstitious sense. But thei that receive the Sacramentes vn-

¹ Hooper adds to vernacular language due and distinct pronunciation.

² A adds quæ duo tantum in ecclesia pro sacramentis a Christo Domino sunt instituta et quæ sola sacramentorum propriam rationem habent.—Albeit that the imposition of hands be tokens of the approbation of the ministers of the Church, according to the example of the Apostles, yet it may not therefore be called a sacrament by like reason as the other two sacraments are, Hooper's 39th Article.

³ The Article in J ends here.

⁴ Qui indigne ad baptismum et ad cœnam Domini accedunt quamquam percipiunt sacramenta, non tamen rem et salutarem effectum sacramentorum sumunt, imo, quemadmodum Paulus dicit, damnationem sibi ipsis accersunt J.

⁵ not of any force by vertue or strength of any outward worke of the same (which of superstition is called opus operatum) but only by the vertue and meanes of the Holy Ghost, Hooper's 24th Article.

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conformes: in bonis operibus sanctè ambulant: et demùm ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam fœlicitatem.

Quemadmodum Prædestinationis et Electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis et ineffabilis consolationis plena est verè pijs et his qui sentiunt in se nim spiritus CHRISTI, facta carnis et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æternas salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilizatque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit: ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuò versari Prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos Diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem, vel in æquè perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem.

Deinde promissiones diuinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt: et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda

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justified freely: they be made sonnes of God by adoption: they be made lyke the image of his onely begotten sonne Jesus Christe: they walke religiously in good workes, and at length by Gods mercy, they attaine to euerlastyng felicitie.

As the godly consyderation of predestination, and our election in Christe, is full of sweete, pleasaunt, and vnspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as fœle in themselues the working of the spirite of Christe, mortifying the workes of the fleshe, and their earthlye members, and drawing vp their mynde to hygh and heauenly thinges, aswell because it doth greatly establyshe and confirme their fayth of eternal saluation to be enioyed through Christ, as because it doth ferently kindle their loue towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirite of Christe, to haue continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the deuyll doth thrust them either into desperation, or into rechelesnesse of most vncleane liuing, no lesse perilous then desperation.

Furthermore, we must receaue Gods promises in such wyse, as they be generally set forth to vs in holy scripture: and in our doynge, that wyl of God is to be

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propositæ sunt: et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in Verbo Dei habemus diserte revelatam.

XVIII.

Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est æterna salus.

Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modò juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate¹ vixerit: cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

XIX.

Omnes obligantur ad moralia legis præcepta servanda.

Lex à Deo data per Mosen, licet quoad cæremonias et ritus Christianos non astringat, neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua Repub. necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus ab obedientia mandatorum quæ Moralia vocantur, nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus. Quare illi non sunt audiendi, qui sacras literas tantum infirmis datas esse perhibent, et spiritum perpetuò jactant, à quo sibi quæ prædicant suggeri asserunt, quanquam cum sacræ literis apertissime pugnent.

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generallie set forth to vs in holie Scripture, and in our doings that wille of Godde is to be folowed, whiche we haue expresselie declared vnto us in the woordes of Godde.

XVIII.

Wee must truste to obtaine eternal Salvation onely by the name of Christe.

Thei also are to be had accursed, and abhorred that presume to saie, that enery man shalbe saued by the Lawe, or secte whiche he professeth, so that he bee diligente to frame his life according to that Lawe, and the lighte of Nature: For holie Scripture doeth sette out vnto vs onely the name of Jesu Christ, wherby menne must be saued.

XIX.

All men are bounde to keepe the moral commaundementes of the Lawe.

The Lawe, whiche was geuen of GOD by Moses, although it binde not Christian menne, as concerning the Ceremonies, and Rites of the same: Neither is it required, that the Ciuille Preceptes and Ordres of it shoulde of necessitie bee receiued in any commune weale: Yet no manne, (bee he neuer so perfecte a Christian) is exempte and lose from the Obedience of those Commaundementes, whiche are called Moral. Wherfore thei are not to be harkened vnto, who affirme that holie Scripture is geuen onlie to the weake, and do boaste themselues continually of the spirit, of whom (thei say) thei haue learned soche things as thei teache, although the same be most euidently repugnaunt to the holie Scripture.

¹ accurate] innocenter A.

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est, quam in uerbo Dei habemus
disertè reuelatam

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folowed, which we haue ex-
preslye declared vnto vs in the
worde of God.

XVIII.

*Tantum in nomine Christi spe-
randa est eterna salus.*²

Svnt illi³ anathematizandi qui
dicere audent, vnumquemque in
Lege aut secta quam profitetur,
esse seruandum, modo iuxta illam
et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit:
cùm sacræ literæ tantum Iesu
Christi nomen prædicent, in quo
saluos fieri homines oporteat.

XVIII.

*Of obtaynyng eternall saluation,
only by the name of Christe.*⁴

They also are to be had ac-
cursed, that presume to say, that
enery man shal be saued by the
lawe or sect which he professeth,
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holy scripture doth set out vnto
vs onely the name of Iesus
Christe, whereby men must be
saued.

² De speranda æterna Salute tantum in Nomine Christi E.

³ illi] et illi C, E.

⁴ We must trust to obteyne eternall saluation, only by the name of Chryst LE, D.

⁵ that lawe] the lawe D.

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XX.

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi visibilis¹ est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, et Sacramenta quoad ea quæ necessario² exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur.

Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina et Antiochena, ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cæremoniarum ritus,³ verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.

XXI.

De Ecclesie auctoritate.

[] Ecclesie non licet quicquam instituire,⁴ quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur: neque unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter

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XX.

Of the Church.⁴

The visible Church of Christ, is a congregation of faithful Menne, in the whiche the pure worde of God is preached, and the sacramentes be duelie ministered, according to Christes ordinance, in all those things that of necessitie are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Antioche hath erred: So also the Church of Rome hath erred, not onely in their living, but also in matiers of their faith.

XXI.

Of the auctoritie of the Church.

[] It is not lawefulle for the Church, to ordein any thing, that is contrarie to Goddes worde writen, neither maie it so expoune one place of scripture, that it be repugnaunt to an other. Wherefore although the church be a witness and a keeper of holie writte; yet as it ought not

¹ visibills] wanting in J.

² necessario] wanting in J.

³ et cæremoniarum ritus] wanting in J.

⁴ The Church of God is the congregation of the faithful wherein the Word of God is truly preached, and the sacraments iustly ministered according to the institution of Christ, and his doctrine taught unto us by his holy Word, *Hooper's 4th Article. He then proceeds,* The Church of God is not by God's Word taken for the multitude or company of men as bishops, priests, and such other, but that it is the company of all men hearing God's Word and obeying unto the same: lest that any man should be seduced believing himselfe to be bound unto any ordinary succession of bishops and priests, but only unto the Word of God and to the right use of his sacraments.

⁵ instituire] constituere A, J.

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XIX.

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi uisibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo uerbum Dei purum prædicatur, et⁶ sacramenta, quoad ea quæ necessario exiguntur,⁷ iuxta Christi institutum rectè administrantur. Sicut errauit ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina et Antiochena: ita et errauit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cæremoniarum ritus, uerum in hijs etiam quæ credenda sunt.

XX.

De Ecclesiæ auctoritate.

Habet Ecclesia Ritus statuendi ius, et in fidei controuersijs auctoritatem, quamuis¹⁰ Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere, quod uerbo Dei scripto¹¹ aduersetur, nec¹² unum scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit diuinorum librorum testis et conseruatric, attamen ut aduersus

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XIX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christe, is a congregation of faythfull men, in the which the pure worde of God is preached, and the Sacramentes be duely ministred, accordyng to Christes ordinaunce in all those thynges that of necessitie are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioche haue erred: so also the Church of Rome hath⁸ erred, not only in their liuing and maner of ceremonies, but also in matters of fayth.⁹

XX.

Of the auctoritie of the Church

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and auctoritie in controuersies of fayth: And yet¹³ it is not lawfull for the Church to ordayne any thyng that is contrarie to Gods worde written, neyther may it so expounde one place of scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although

⁶ et] ut *E*, (error of the press).

⁷ exiguntur] exigantur *E*, (perhaps a similar error).

⁸ hath] haue *LB*.

⁹ matters of fayth] matters of theyr fayth *LB*: cf. col. 2.

¹⁰ Habet Ecclesia . . . quamuis] wanting in *C*, *E*, and elsewhere. See above, p. 142.

¹¹ scripto] wanting in *E*.

¹² nec] neque *C*, *E*.

¹³ The Church . . . And yet] wanting in *LB*, *D*.

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illos¹ nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXII.

De auctoritate Conciliorum Generalium

Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate Principum congregari non possunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant qui non omnes spiritu et † verbis † Dei reguntur, et errare possunt et interdum errârunt, etiam in his quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent: ideo quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possunt² à sacris literis esse desumpta.³

XXIII.

De Purgatorio.

† Scholasticorum † doctrina de Purgatorio,⁴ de Indulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione tum

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to decree any thing againste the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be beleened for necessitie of salvation.

XXII.

Of the auctoritie of general Counsailes.

Generall counsailes maie not be gathered together, without the commaundemente, and will of Princes: and when thei be gathered (forasmoeche as thei be an assemblie of men wherof all be not gouerned with the spirite, and woorde of GOD) thei maie erre, and sometime haue erred, not onely in worldlie matiers, but also in thinges perteing vnto God. Wherefore thinges ordeined by them, as necessarie to salvation, haue neither strength, nor auctoritie, onlesse it maie be declared, that thei be taken out of holie scripture.

XXIII.

Of Purgatorie.

† The doctrine of Scholeauthoures † concerning Purgatorie, Pardones, worshipping, and ado-

¹ attamen ut adversus . . . illos] ut præter illos J, (a line is probably omitted).

² ostendi possunt] ostendantur A.

³ A adds Possunt reges et pii magistratus non expectata conciliorum generalium sententia aut convocazione in Republica sua juxta Dei verbum de rebus religionis constituere.

⁴ A adds de precatione pro defunctis. In like manner, we have in Hooper's 9th Article, the doctrine of the schoolmen of purgatory, pardons, prayers for them that are departed out of this world, &c.

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eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

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the Churche be a witnesse and a keper of holy writ: yet, as it ought not to decree any thing agaynst the same, so besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be beleued for necessitie of saluation.

XXI.

De autoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine iussu et voluntate principum congregari non possunt, et vbi conuenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes spiritu et †uerbis† Dei^s reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt, etiam in hijs quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent: ideo^s quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent, neque autoritatem, nisi ostendi possint à sacris literis esse desumpta.

XXI.

Of the authoritie of generall Counsellles.

Generall Counsels may not be gathered together without the commaundement and wyll of princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuche as they be an assemblie of men, wherof all be not gouerned with the spirite and word of God) they may erre, and sometyme haue erred, euen in thinges parteynyng vnto God. Wherefore thinges ordayned by them as necessary tosaluation,haue neytherstrength nor auctoritie, vnlesse it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

XXII.

De Purgatorio.

Doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio, de Indulgentijs, de ueneratione et adoratione tum Imaginum tum Reliquiarum, nec non de inuocatione Sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis

XXII.

Of Purgatorie.

The Romishe doctrine concerning purgatorie, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images, as of reliques, and also inuocation of Saintes, is a fonde thing, vainly inuented,⁷ and

^s uerbis Dei] verbo Dei E. It is corrected from uerbis into verbo in C.

^s ideo] ideoque E.

⁷ inuented] fayned LB: cf. col. 2, p. 320.

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imaginum tum reliquiarum, nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur, imo Verbo Dei perniciosè contradicit.¹

XXIV.

Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi sacramenta in Ecclesia,² nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini³ publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXV

Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populo nota.

†Decentissimum est et Verbo Dei maxime congruit, ut nihil in Ecclesia publice legatur aut re-

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ration as well of images, as of reliques, and also invocation of saintes, is a fonde thing vainlie † feigned †, and grounded vpon no warraunt of scripture, but rather repugnant to the woordes of God.

XXIV.

No manne maie minister in the Congregation, except he be called.

It is not lawfull for any man to take vpon him the office of Publique preaching, or ministring the sacramentes in the congregation,⁴ before he be lawfullie called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfullie called, and sent, whiche be chosen, and called to this woork by menne, who haue publike auctoritie genen vnto them in the congregation, to cal, and sende ministres into the Lordes vineyarde.

XXV.

Menne must speake in the Congregation in soche tounge, as the people vnderstandeth.

†It is moste semelie, and moste agreable to the woordes of God,

¹ res est futilis . . . contradicit] nullis innititur scripturarum testimoniis, sed est res futilis et inaniter conficta J.

² A adds bene constituta.

³ A adds iuxta verbum Dei.

⁴ No maner of person of his own private authority to take vpon him to preach the Word of God or to minister his sacraments openly, Hooper's 17th Article. He adds that a lawfull calling is to be known either by manifest signes and tokens out of heauen, or els by such men vnto whome appertaineth by office to appoint.

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Scripturarum testimonijs innititur, imo verbo Dei contradicit.*

XXIII.

*Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi uocatus.*⁷

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publicè prædicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitimè uocatus et missus. Atque illos legitimè uocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas uocandi Ministros atque mittendi in uineam Domini publicè concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXIV.

*Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populo nota.*⁹

Lingua populo non intellecta publicas in ecclesia preces peragere, aut Sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei et primitiuis

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grounded vpon no warrantie* of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the worde of God.

XXIII.

*Of ministryng in the congregation.*⁸

It is not lawful for any man to take vpon hym the office of publique preachyng, or ministryng the Sacramentes in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfully called and sent, whiche be chosen and called to this worke by men who haue publique auctoritie genen vnto them in the congregation, to call and sende ministers into the Lordes vineyarde.

XXIV.

*Of speaking in the congregation, in such a tongue as the people vnderstandeth.*¹⁰

It is a thing playnely repugnant to the worde of God, and the custome of the primitiue

* contradicit] pernitiose contradicit *C*, (but the adverb is run through).

* warrantie] warrant *D*.

⁷ De Vocatione ministrorum *E*.

⁸ No man may minister in the congregation except he be called *LB, D*.

⁹ De Precibus publicis dicendis in Lingua Vulgari *E*.

¹⁰ Men must speake in the congregation in such tongue as the people understandeth

LB, D: cf. col. 2.

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citetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit, nisi adesset qui interpretaretur†.

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that in the congregation nothing be openlie readde, or spoken in a tongue vnknown to the people,¹ the whiche thing S. Paule didde forbidde, except some were presente that should declare the same†.

XXVI.

De Sacramentis.

Dominus noster Jesus Christus Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatu facilissimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus et Cœna Domini.²

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Sacramenta non instituta sunt à Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur: et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato; quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium³ sed admodum superstitiosum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.⁴

Sacramenta per Verbum Dei

XXVI.

Of the Sacramentes.

Our LORDE Jesus Christe hath knitte together a companie of newe people with Sacramentes, mooste fewe in numbre, mooste easie to bee kepte, mooste excellent in significatione, as is Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.

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The Sacramentes were not ordeined of Christe to be gazed vpon, or to be caried about, but that we shoulde rightlie use them. And in soche onely, as worthelie receiue the same, thei haue an wholesome effecte, and operatione, and yet not that of the woorke wrought,⁵ as some men speake, whiche worde, as it is straunge, and vnknown to hollie Scripture: So it engendreth no Godlie, but a verie superstitious sense. But thei that receiue the Sacramentes vn-

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² A adds quæ duo tantum in ecclesia pro sacramentis a Christo Domino sunt instituta et quæ sola sacramentorum propriam rationem habent.—Albeit that the imposition of hands be tokens of the approbation of the ministers of the Church, according to the example of the Apostles, yet it may not therefore be called a sacrament by like reason as the other two sacraments are, Hooper's 39th Article.

³ The Article in J ends here.

⁴ Qui indigne ad baptismum et ad cenam Domini accedunt quamquam percipiunt sacramenta, non tamen rem et salutarem effectum sacramentorum sumunt, imo, quemadmodum Paulus dicit, damnationem sibi ipsis accersunt J.

⁵ not of any force by vertue or strength of any outward worke of the same (which of superstition is called opus operatum) but only by the vertue and meanes of the Huly Ghost, Hooper's 24th Article.

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Ecclesiæ consuetudini planè repugnat.

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Church, to haue publique prayer in the Churche, or to minister the Sacramentes in a tongue not vnderstanded of the people.

XXV.

De Sacramentis.

Sacramenta à Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ inuisibiliter ipse in nobis⁶ operatur, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excoitat, uerumetiam confirmat.

Duo à Christo Domino nostro in Euangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet Baptismus et Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa uulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Pœnitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema unctio, pro sacramentis euangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ partim à praua Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt,⁷ partim uitæ status sunt in scripturis quidem probati, sed sacramentorum eandem cum baptismo et cœna Domini rationem non habentes: quomodo nec

XXV.

Of the Sacramentes.

Sacramentes ordayned of Christe, be not onely badges or tokens of Christian mens profession: but rather they be certaine sure witnesses and effectuell signes of grace and Gods good wyll towards vs, by the which he doth worke inuisible in vs, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirme our fayth in hym.

There are two Sacramentes ordayned of Christe our Lorde in the Gospell, that is to say, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lorde.

Those fyue, commonly called Sacramentes, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimonie, and extreme Vnction,⁸ are not to be compted⁹ for Sacramentes of the gospel, being such as haue growen partly of the corrupt folowing of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the scriptures: but yet

⁶ nobis] nos *E.*

⁷ profluxerunt] profluxerint *G.*

⁸ Vnction] annoying *LB, D.*

⁹ compted] accompted *LB.*

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institutæ, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certæ quædam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, veram etiam confirmat.¹

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woorthelie,² purchase to themselves damnatione, as Sainte Paule saith.

Sacramentes ordeined by the worde of God be not onely badges, and tokens of Christien Mennes professione, but rather thei bee certeine sure witnesses, and effectuall signes of grace, and Goddes good will towarde vs, by the whiche he dothe worke inuisible in vs, and dothe not onlie quicken, but also strengthen, and confirme our faith in him.³

XXVII.

Ministorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinorum.

Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili, bonis mali sint semper admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et Sacramentorum administrationi præsent, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et autoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in Verbo Dei audiendo, tum in Sacramentis percipiendis: neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tolli-

XXVII.

The wickednesse of the Ministres dooeth not take awaie the effectuall operation of Goddes ordinances.

Although in the visible Church the euill be euer mingled with the good, and sometime the euill haue chief authoritie in the ministration of the worde and Sacramentes: Yet forasmoche as thei doe not the same in their owne name, but dooe minister by Christes commission, and autoritie: we maie use their ministerie bothe in hearing the

¹ *The whole of this clause, both Latin and English, is transposed in 1563.*

² do not receive the virtue and true effect of the same sacraments, although they receive the externall signes and elementes of the sacraments, *Hooper's 11th Article.*

³ not only signes and notes of the profession of Christian men, but also certaine impressions or prints of the grace and good-will of God towards us, which thing is made perfect in us, when inwardly the Holy Ghost worketh that our faith may apprehend the thing that is signified by the Word and the sacraments, *Hooper's 23rd Article.*

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Pœnitentia,⁴ ut quæ signum ali-
quod visibile seu cœremoniam a
Deo institutam⁵ non habeat.⁶

Sacramenta non in hoc insti-
tuta sunt à Christo, ut spectaren-
tur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut
ritè illis uteremur: et in hijs
duntaxat qui dignè percipiunt,
salutarem habent effectum: qui
nerò indigne percipiunt, dam-
nationem (ut inquit Paulus)
sibi ipsis œquirunt.

XXVI.

*Ministrorum malitia non tollit
efficaciam institutionum divi-
narum.*⁸

Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili
bonis mali semper sint⁹ admixti,
atque interdum ministerio verbi
et sacramentorum administra-
tioni præsint, tamen cum non suo
sed Christi nomine agant, eiusque
mandato et autoritate ministrent,
illorum ministerio uti licet, cum
in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in
sacramentis percipiendis. Neque

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hæc not lyke nature of Sacra-
mentes with Baptisme and the
Lodes Supper, for that they
hæc not any visible signe or
ceremonie ordayned of God.

The Sacramentes were not or-
dayned of Christ to be gased vpon,
or to be caryed about: but that
we should duely use them. And
in such only, as worthyly receave
the same, they haue a wholesome
effect or⁷ operation: But they
that receave them vnworthyly,
purchase to them selues damna-
tion, as S. Paul sayth.

XXVI.

*Of the vnworthynesse of the minis-
ters, which hinder not the effect
of the Sacramentes.*¹⁰

Although in the visible Church
the euyl be euer myngled with
the good, and sometime the euyl
haue cheefe auctoritie in the
ministration of the worde and
Sacramentes: yet forasmuch as
they do not the same in their
owne name but in Christes, and
do minister by his commission
and auctoritie,¹¹ we may vse

⁴ quomodo nec Pœnitentia] omitted in E, but also found in the Latin form of 1563
in State Papers, Vol. xxvii. § 41 A.

⁵ institutam] institutum E.

⁶ habeat] habeant E.

⁷ or] and LB.

⁸ De vi Institutionum Divinarum, quod eam non tollat malitia ministrorum E.

⁹ sint] sunt C.

¹⁰ The wickedness of the ministers doth not take away the effectual operation of
God's ordinances LB, D: cf. col. 2.

¹¹ but in Christes and do minister by his commission and auctoritie] but do minister
by Christes commission and aucthority LB, D.

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tur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur quoad eos, qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrantur. Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in eos inquiratur, accusenturque ab iis, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti iudicio, deponantur.

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wordes of God, and in the receiuing the sacramentes, neither is the effecte of Goddes ordinaunces taken awaie¹ by their wickednesse, or the grace of Goddes giftes diminished from soche, as by faieith and rightlie receive the Sacramentes ministred vnto them, whiche bee effectuall, because of Christes institutione and promise, although thei be ministred by euil men. Neuerthesse it apperteineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquire be made of †soche,† and that thei bee accused by those that haue knowelege of their offences, and finally being founde guiltie by iust iudgement, be deposed.

XXVIII.

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum signum professionis ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani à non Christianis discernuntur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum recte Baptismum suscipientes, Ecclesiæ inferuntur,² promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter³ obsignantur, fides confirmatur,

XXVIII.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is not onelie a signe of profession, and marke of difference, wherby Christien menne are discerned from other that bee not christened, but it is also a signe, and seale of our newe birth, whereby, as by an instrument thei that receive Baptisme rightlie, are grafted in the Church, the promises of forgiveness of sinne, and our adoption to bee the sonnes of God, []

¹ The malice of the minister cannot derogate nor hurt the doctrine, verity and majesty of God's word and his sacraments, *Hooper's 25th Article.*

² inferuntur] inseruntur *B.* visibiliter inserimur *A.*

³ visibiliter] wanting in *A.*

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per illorum malitiam effectus institutionum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et ritè sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem CHRISTI et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrantur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiretur, accusenturque ab hijs, qui eorum flagitia nouerint, atque tandem iusto conuicti iudicio, deponantur.

XXVII.

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani à non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum Regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum rectè baptismum suscipientes,⁴ ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissiones de Remissione peccatorum atque Adoptione nostra in filios Dei, per Spiritum sanctum uisibiliter ob-

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their ministrie, both in hearing the word of God, and in the receauing of the Sacramentes. Neither is y^e effecte of Christes ordinaunce⁴ taken away by their wickednesse, nor the grace of Gods gyftes diminished from such as by fayth and ryghtly do receau the Sacramentes ministered vnto them, which be effectually, because of Christes institution and promise, although they be ministred by euyl men.

Neuertheless, it apparteyneth to the discipline of the Church, that enquire be made of euyl ministres,⁵ and that they be accused by those that haue knowledge of their offences: and finally, beyng founde gyltie by inst iudgement, be deposed.

XXVII.

Of Baptisme.

Baptisme is not only a signe of profession, and marke of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened: but is also a signe of regeneration or newe byrth,⁷ whereby as by an instrument, they that receau baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church: the promises of the forgeuenesse of sinne, and of⁸

⁴ Christes ordinaunce] God's ordinances *LB*.

⁵ euyl ministres] such *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁶ suscipientes] an error of the press for suscipientes.

⁷ a signe of regeneration or newe byrth] a signe and seale of our newe byrth *LB*: cf. col. 2.

⁸ of] wanting in *LB*.

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et vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur. † Mos Ecclesiæ baptizandi parvulos et laudandus et omnino in Ecclesia retinendus.†¹

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are visible signed and sealed, faith is confirmed, and grace increased by vertue of praiere vnto God. † The custome of the Church to christen yonge children, is to bee commended, and in any wise to bee retained in the Church.†

XXIX.

*De Cæna Domini.*²

Cæna Domini non est tantum signum mutæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est Sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque aded rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: Similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur [] et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

¹ Baptismus infantium Christianorum et laudandus est, et omnino in ecclesia retinendus *A. Whereas in the Articles of Christian Doctrine* (above, p. 117, n. 1) *the clause stands*: 'The baptizing of yonge children is to be comended and any wise to be reteyned in the Church of Christ as a thing fully grounded vpon Goddes worde and alwaies contynued in the Church from the Apostles tyme.'

² *In A this article is divided into four, each consisting of a clause according to the present subdivision.* See above, p. 285.

³ or any maner of corporall, or locall presence of Christ in, under or with the bread and wine, *Hooper's 9th Article.* He adds that what we receive is the confirmation and augmentation of all the merits and deservings of Christ.

XXIX.

Of the Lordes Supper.

The Supper of the Lorde is not onely a signe of the loue that Christiens ought to haue among them selues one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christes death, insomoeche that to soche as rightlie, woorthelie, and with faieith receiue the same, the breade whiche we breake, is a communion of the bodie of Christe. Likewise the Cuppe of blessing, is a Communion of the bloude of Christe.

Transubstantiation,³ or the change of the substance of breade, and wine into the substance of Christes bodie, and bloude cannot be proued by holie writte, but is repugnaunt to the

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signantur, fides confirmatur, et ut diuinæ inuocationis, gratia augetur.

Baptismus paruulorum omnino in ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optimè congruat.

XXVIII.

De Cœna Domini.

Cœna Domini non est tantùm signum mutuæ beneuolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, uerum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeo ritè, dignè et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus, est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et uini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis scripturæ uerbis aduersatur, sacramenti naturam euertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.*

* partaking] *This word was exchanged for communion, which is the reading of LB, D.*

* in the Supper of the Lorde] into the substance of Christ's body and blood of LB, D.

* *The following clause was here added in C, but struck out in the Synod: Christus in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, Naturam non abetulit; humane enim nature ueritatem, (iuxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa, uel omnia simul loca diffundi oportet. Quum*

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our adoption to be the sonnes of God, by the holy ghost, are visibly signed and sealed: fayth is confirmed: and grace increased by vertue of prayer vnto God. The baptisme of young children is in any wyse to be retayned in the Churche, as most agreeable with the institution of Christe.

XXVIII.

Of the Lordes Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a signe of the loue that Christians ought to haue among them selues one to another: but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christes death. Insomuch that to suche as ryghtlie, worthyly, and with fayth receaue the same the bread whiche we breake is a parttakyng⁴ of the body of Christe, and likewyse the cuppe of blessing is a parttakyng of the blood of Christe.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substaunce of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lorde,⁵ can not be proued by holye writ, but is repugnant to the playne wordes of scripture,

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Quum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat, ut unius ejusdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non posset, sed in uno aliquo et definito [] loco esse oporteat,¹ idcirco Christi corpus, in multis et diversis locis, eodem tempore, præsens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt Sacræ literæ, Christus in Cælum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem seculi est permansurus, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi² non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.³

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plaine woordes of Scripture, [] and hath geuen occasion to many supersticions.

Forasmoeche as the trueth of mannes nature requireth, that the bodie of one, and theselt same manne cannot be at one time in diuerse places, but must nedes be in some one certeine place: Therefore the bodie of Christe cannot bee presente at one time in many, and diuerse places. And because (as holie Scripture doeth teache) Christe was taken vp into heauen, and there shall continue vnto thende of the worlde, a faithful man ought not, either to belene, or openlie to confesse the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude, in the Sacramente of the Lordes supper.

The Sacramente of the Lordes supper was not commaunded by Christes ordinance to be kepte, caried about, lifted vp, nor worshipped.

igitur Christus in celum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem seculi permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit, ad ipdicandum viuos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, et carnis eius, et sanguinis, realem, et corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere, vel profiteri. Corpus tamen Christi datur etc.

¹ ut unius ejusdemque . . . oporteat] ut in multis locis simul esse non possit, sed certo quodam et definito A.

² J adds nec ex usu primitivæ Ecclesiæ.

³ nec adorabatur] ut adoretur J.

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Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, tantùm cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo Corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non seruabatur, circumferabatur, eleuabatur, nec adorabatur.

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ouerthroweth⁴ the nature of a Sacrament, and hath genen occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christe is genen, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heauenly and spirituall maner:⁵ And⁶ the meane whereby the body of Christe is receaved and eaten in the Supper, is fayth.

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper was not by Christes ordinaunce reserued, caryed about, lyfted vp, or⁷ worshipped.

XXIX.

[⁸

Of the wicked which do not eate the body of Christe in the use of the Lordes Supper.

The wicked, and suche as be voyde of a linelye fayth, although they do carnally and visibly presse

⁴ ouerthroweth] perverteth *LB*.

⁵ only after . . . maner] after . . . maner onely *LB*.

⁶ And] But *LB, D*.

⁷ or] nor *LB*.

⁸ *This Article is wanting in State Papers, Vol. xxvii. § 41 A (see above, p. 140, n. 5), and in all the printed copies until 1571. It is found, however, in State Papers, Vol. xxvii. §§ 40, 41; and in the former there is added, in a marginal note of the same period: 'This in ye original, but not prynted.' It is also found in C and D, in the former of which it stands as follows: Impiū, et fide viua destituti, licet carnaliter et visibiliter (vt Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tante rei Sacramentum seu Symbolum, ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt.' Similarly E. With respect to the marginal reference, 'super Joann. Tract. 26,' which exists in the Latin Parker MS., and in a unique copy of the English Articles of 1571, see above, p. 138, n. 1, and Mr. Swanson's Essay on Art. xxix. pp. 40, 41.*

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XXX.

De unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta,¹ perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quàm actualibus: neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde Missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ² pro vivis et defunctis, figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

XXX.

Of the perfecte oblation of Christe made vpon the crosse.

The offering of Christe made ones for euer, is the perfecte redemption, the pacifyng of goddes displeasre, and satisfaction for al the sinnes of the whole world,³ bothe original and actual: and there is none other satisfaction for sinne, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the whiche, it was commonlie saied, that the Prieste did offre Christe for the quicke and the dead, to haue remission of peine or †sinne, † were

¹ semel facta] semel in cruce facta J.

² in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ] wanting in A, J.

³ for all sins of all times to all men believing in the same sacrifice, Hooper's 15th Article.

1568.

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with their teeth (as Saint Augustine sayth) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ : yet in no wyse are the[y] partakers of Christe, but rather to their condemnation do eate and drinke the signe or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXIX.

De Vtraque Specie.

Calix Domini Laicis non est denegandus : utraque enim pars dominici sacramenti ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

XXX.

Of both kindes.

The cuppe of the Lorde is not to be denyed to the laye people. For both the partes of the Lordes Sacrament, by Christes ordinance and commaundement, ought to be ministred to all Christian men alike.

XXX.

De unica Christi oblatione in Cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus. Neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Vnde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ pro uiuis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt, et pernitiôsæ imposturæ.

XXXI.

Of the one oblation of Christe finished vppon the Crosse.

The offering of Christ once made,⁴ is the perfect redemption, propiciation, and satisfaction⁵ for all the sinnes of the whole worlde, both originall and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sinne, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priestes did offer Christe for the quicke and the dead, to haue remission of payne orgylt, were blasphemous⁶ fables, and daungerous deceits.

⁴ once made] once made for euer *LB* : *cf. col. 2.*

⁵ redemption, propiciation, and satisfaction] redemption, the pacifying of God's displeasure and satisfaction *LB.*

⁶ blasphemous] forged *LB, D* : *cf. col. 2.*

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XXXI.

† *Cœlibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini.*

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis non est mandatum ut cœlibatum voveant: neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio² abstinere.†³

XXXII.

Excommunicati vitandi sunt.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite⁴ ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio Judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

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forged fables, and dangerous deceiptes.¹

XXXI.

† *The state of single life is commaunded to no man by the worde of God.*

Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons are not commaunded to vowe the state of single life without mariage, neither by Goddes lawe are thei compelled to absteine from matrimonie.†

XXXII.

Excommunicate persones are to bee avoided.

That persone, whiche by open denunciacion of the Church, is rightlie cut of from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faiethful, as an Heathen and publicane, vntil he bee openlie reconciled by penance, and receiued into the Church by a Judge that hath authoritie thereto.

¹ The popish mass is a meere enemy against God's word and Christ's institution . . . Albeit it doth retaine in it certaine Lessons of the Holy Scriptures, yet it is nothing better to be esteemed than the verses of the sorcerer or enchanter that be nothing more to be esteemed for certaine holy wordes murmured and spoaken in secret, *Hooper's 28th Article.*

² matrimonio] & matrimonio J.

³ *A adds* si donum non habeant, tametsi voverint, quandoquidem hoc voti genus verbo Dei repugnat. *Hooper adds* that the forbidding of marriage is the doctrine of divells.

⁴ rite] propter capitalia crimina A.

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XXXI.

De Coniugio Sacerdotum.

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis, nullo mandato diuino præceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum uoueant, aut à matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, vt cæteris omnibus Christianis, vbi hoc ad pietatem magis facere indicauerint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

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XXXII.

Of the mariage of Priestes.

Byshops, Priestes, and Deacons, are not commaunded by Gods lawe eyther to vowe the estate of single lyfe, or to abstayne from mariage. Therefore it is lawfull also for them, as for all other Christian men, to mary at their owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlynesse.

XXXII.

*Excommunicati uitandi sunt.*⁵

Qvi per publicam Ecclesiæ denuntiationem ritè ab unitate ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, is ab uniuersa fidelium multitudine, donec per pœnitentiam publicè reconciliatus fuerit, arbitrio Iudicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

XXXIII.

*Of excommunicate persons, howe they are to be auoided.*⁶

That person whiche by open denuntiation of the Church, is ryghtly cut of from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faythfull as an Heathen and Publicane, vntill he be openly reconciled by penance, and receaved into the Church by a iudge that hath auctoritie thereto.

⁵ De Excommunicatis uitandis *E.*

⁶ Excommunicate persons are to be auoided *LB, D.*

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XXXIII.

Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ.

Traditiones atque cæremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles, nam variæ et semper fuerunt et mutari possunt pro regionum [] et morum diversitate; modo nihil contra Dei verbum instituat.

Traditiones et cæremonias Ecclesiasticas, quæ cum Verbo Dei non pugnant et sunt autoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

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XXXIII.

Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessarie that traditions and ceremonies bee in all places one, or vttierlie like. For at al times thei haue been diuers, and maie bee changed, according to the diuersitie of countries, [] and menes maners, so that nothing bee ordeined against goddes worde.

Whosoener through his private iudgement willinglie, and purposelie doeth openlie breake the traditions and ceremonies of the Church,¹ whiche bee not repugnant to the worde of God, and bee ordeined, and approued by common auctoritie, ought to be rebuked openlie (that other maie feare to doe the like) as one that offendeth against the common ordre of the church, and hurteth thauctoritie of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weake brethren.

[

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¹ willingly or openly with slanders do violate and break any ceremonies made and approved by the Kings majesties authority, *Hooper's 16th Article.*

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XXXIII.

*Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ.**

Traditiones atque cæremonias easdem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique aut prorsus consimiles. Nam et uariæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum,³ et morum diuersitate, modo nihil contra uerbum Dei instituantur.

Traditiones et cæremonias ecclesiasticas quæ cum uerbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt auctoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis priuato consilio uolens et data operæ publicè uiolauerit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem ecclesie, qui quæ lædit auctoritatem Magistratum, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias uulnerat, publicè, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet ecclesia particularis, sine nationalis, auctoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias aut ritus Ecclesiasticos, humana tantum auctoritate institutos, modò omnia ad sedificationem fiant.

⁴ Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic Articulo subiunximus, continet piam et

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XXXIV.

Of the traditions of the Church.

It is not necessarie that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or viterly like, for at all times they haue ben diuerse, and may be chaunged accordyng to the diuersitie of countreys, times, and mens maners, so that nothing be ordeyned against Gods worde. Whosoeuer through his priuate iudgement, wyllyngly and purposely doth openly breake the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the worde of God, and be ordeyned and approued⁵ by common auctoritie, ought to be rebuked openly, (that other may feare to do the lyke) as he⁶ that offendeth agaynst the Common order of the Church, and hurteth the auctoritie of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Euery particuler or nationall Church, hath auctoritie to ordaine, change, and abolishe ceremonies or rites of the Church ordeyned onely by mans auctoritie, so that all thinges be done to edifying.

* De Traditionibus Ecclesiasticis E.

³ temporum] added in C with a red pencil.

⁴ This is the natural point of division, but no title exists in C, D, or LB, to disjoin the account of the Homilies from the foregoing Article. Where a number is found at all it is affixed to the title of the first Homily; but the error is corrected in E, which contains also the title De Homiliis.

⁵ ordeyned and approued] ordened and appointed D.

⁶ he] one LB, D.

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XXXIV.

† *Homiliae.*

Homiliae nuper Ecclesiae Anglicanae per injunctiones Regias traditae atque commendatae, pia sunt atque salutare, doctrinamque ab omnibus amplectendam continent: quare populo diligenter, expedite, clareque recitandae sunt†.

xxxiv.

† *Homilies.*

Thomelies of late geuen, and set out by the kinges authoritie, be godlie and holsome, conteining doctrine to bee receined of all menne, and therefore are to be readde¹ to the people diligentlie, distinctlie, and plainlie†.

¹ without omission of any part thereof, *Hooper's 44th Article.*

1563.

salutarem doctrinam, et hijs temporibus necessariam, non minus quàm prior Tomus Homiliarum quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi sexti. Itaque eas in ecclesijs per ministros diligenter et clarè, ut à populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse indicamus.

1571.

XXXIV.

Catalogus Homiliarum.

De recto ecclesiæ usu.
 Aduersus Idololatriæ pericula.
 De reparandis ac purgandis ecclesijs.
 De bonis operibus.
 De ieiunio.
 In gula atque ebrietatis uitia.
 In nimis sumptuosos uestium apparatus.
 De oratione siue precatione.
 De loco et tempore orationi destinatis.
 De publicis precibus ac Sacramentis, idiomate uulgari omnibusque noto, habendis.
 De sacrosancta nerbi divini auctoritate.
 De eleemosina.
 De Christi natiuitate.
 De dominica passionone.
 De resurrectione Domini.

XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The seconde booke of Homilies, the seuerall² titles whereof we haue ioyned vnder this article, doth³ conteyne a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessarie for these tymes⁴, as doth the former booke of Homilies, whiche were set foorth in the time of⁵ Edwarde the sixt: and therefore we iudge them to be read in Churches⁶ by the Ministers diligently,⁷ and distinctly, that they may be vnderstanded of the people.

Of⁸ the names of the Homilies.

- 1 Of the right vse of the Churches.
- 2 Agaynst perill of Idolatrie.
- 3 Of repaying and keeping cleane of Churches.
- 4 Of good workes, first of fastyng.
- 5 Agaynst gluttony and drunkennesse.

² seuerall] wanting in *LB, D.*

³ doth] do *LB, D.*

⁴ these tymes] this time *LB, D.*

⁵ in the time of] at London vnder *LB.*

⁶ we iudge them to be read in churches] are to be read in our churches *LB, D.*

⁷ *LB and D add playnely.*

⁸ Of] wanting in *LB, D.*

1558.

1558.

XXXV.

† *De Libro Præcationum et*¹ *cære-*
moniarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Liber qui nuperrime auctoritate Regis & Parlamenti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ traditus est, continens modum & formam orandi, & Sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana: similiter & libellus eadem auctoritate editus de ordinatione ministrorum Ecclesiæ, quoad doctrinæ veritatem, pii sunt, & salutari doctrinæ Evan-

XXXV.

† *Of the booke of Prayers, and Ceremonies of the Church of Englande.*

The Booke whiche of very late time was geuen to the Church of Englande by the kinges auctoritie, and the Parlamente, containing the maner and fourme of praiyng, and ministring the Sacramentes in the Church of Englande, likewise also the booke of ordring Ministers of the Church, set forth by the foresaid authori-

¹ Præcationum et] wanting in A.

1563.

De digna corporis et sanguinis
dominici in coena Domini
participatione.
De donis spiritus sancti.
In diebus, qui vulgo Rogationum
dicti sunt, concio.
De matrimonij statu.
De otio seu socordia.
De poenitentia.²

1571.

6 Against excesse of apparell.
7 Of prayer.
8 Of the place and time of prayer.
9 That common prayers and
Sacramentes ought to be
ministred in a knowen
tongue.
10 Of the reuerent estimation
of Gods worde.³
11 Of almes doing.
12 Of the Natiuitie of Christe.
13 Of the passion of Christe.
14 Of the resurrection of Christe.
15 Of the worthie receaving of
the Sacrament of the body
and blood of Christe.
16 Of the gyftes of the holy
ghost.
17 For the Rogation dayes.
18 Of the state of Matrimonie.
19 Of repentaunce.
20 Agaynst Idlennesse.
21 Agaynst rebellion.⁴

XXXV.

Libellus de Consecratione
Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum
& de ordinatione Presbyterorum
& Diaconorum seditis
nuper temporibus Edwardi sexti,

XXXVI.

*Of consecration of Bishops and
ministers.*⁵

The booke of Consecration of
Archbishops, and Bishops, and
ordering of Priestes and Deacons,
lately set forth in the time of
Edwarde⁷ the sixt, and con-

² The above titles are given in English by C, E (also in State Papers, Vol. xxvii. § 41 A); with the Homily Of Repentance, preceding that Against Idleness.

³ In the Book of Homilies entitled An Information for them which take offence at certain places of Scripture.

⁴ This Homily being first printed in 1571 is not mentioned in LB or D.

⁵ Title wanting here and in C, but supplied as follows by E: De episcoporum et Ministrorum Consecratione.

⁶ Title wanting in LB.

⁷ of Edwarde] of the most noble Kinge Edwarde LB, D.

1553.

geli in nullo repugnant sed congruunt, & eandem non parum promovent & illustant, atque ideo¹ ab omnibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fidelibus membris, & maximè à ministris verbi cum omni promptitudine animorum & gratiarum actione, recipiendi, approbandi, & populo Dei commendandi sunt†.²

1553.

tie, are godlie, and in no pointe repugnaunt to the holosome doctrine of the Gospel but agreeable thereunto, ferthering and beautifying the same not a litle, and therefore of al faithfull members of the Church of Kinglande, and chieflie of the ministers of the worde, thei ought to be receined, and allowed with all readinesse of minde, and thankes geuing, and to bee commended to the people of God†.

XXXVI.

De civilibus Magistratibus.

†Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris, post Christum, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ†.³

[

]

XXXVI.

Of Civile magistrates.

†The king of Englande is Supreme head in earth, nexte vnder Christe, of the Church of Englande, and Irelande†.

[

]

¹ et salutari doctrinæ...atque ideo] et quoad ceremoniarum rationem salutari Evangelii libertati, si ex sua natura ceremonie illæ æstimentur, in nullo repugnant sed probe congruunt et eandem in complurimis inprimis promovent, atque ideo A. ² commendandi sunt] *transposed in A.*

³ A adds neque in universo orbe ullum seipso majorem agnoscit a quo sua potestas et autoritas pendeat.—The Kings may of England is to be taken and known as the only and supreme magistrate and power of the Church of England and Ireland, *Hooper's 34th Article.*

1563.

& autoritate Parlamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad eiusmodi consecrationem & ordinationem necessaria continet, & nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium. Itaque quicumque iuxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt ab Anno secundo prædicti Regis Edwardi, usque ad hoc tempus, aut in posterum iuxta eosdem ritus consecrabitur aut ordinabuntur ritè, ordine, atque legitime, statuimus esse & fore consecratos & ordinatos.

XXXVI.

De ciuilibus Magistratibus.

Regia Maiestas in hoc Angliæ Regno ac cæteris eius Dominijs, iure⁵ summam habet potestatum, ad quam omnium statuum huius Regni siue illi ecclesiastici sunt siue non,⁶ in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet, & nulli externæ iurisdictioni est subiecta, nec esse debet.

Cum Regiæ Maiestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi: non damus Regibus nostris aut uerbi Dei aut sacramentorum administrationem, quod etiam

1571.

fyrmed at the same tyme by auctoritie of Parliament, doth conteyne all things necessarie to suche consecration and ordering: neyther hath it any thing, that of it selfe is superstitious or vngodly. And therefore, whosoener are consecrate or ordered accordyng to the rites of that booke, since the seconde yere of the aforenamed⁴ king Edwarde, vnto this time, or hereafter shalbe consecrated or ordered accordyng to the same rites, we decree all such to be ryghtly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII.

Of the⁷ Ciuill Magistrates.

The Queenes Maiestie hath the cheefe power in this Realme of Englande, and other her dominions, vnto whom the cheefe government of all estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuile,⁸ in all causes doth apparteine, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any forraigne iurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queenes Maiestie the cheefe government, by whiche titles we vnderstand the mindes of some slaunderous folkes to be offended: we geue not to our princes the ministring either of God's word,

⁴ aforenamed] aforesaid in *D*, (but corrected into aforenamed).

⁵ iure] wanting in *C*, *E*.

⁷ the] wanting in *LB*.

⁸ siue non] siue ciuiles *E*.

⁸ or Ciulle] or not *LB*, *D*.

1553.

1558.

Romans Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc Regno Angliæ. Magistratus civilis est à Deo ordinatus atque probatus, quomobrem illi, non solum propter iram, sed etiam, propter conscientiam, obediendum est.¹

Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia & gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare & justa bella administrare.

The Bishoppe of Rome hath no jurisdiction² in this Realme of Englande.

The civile Magistrate is ordetned, and allowed of God: wherefore we must obeie him,³ not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake.

The civile lawes maie punishe Christian men with death, for heinous, and grieuous offences.

It is lawefull for Christians, at the commaundement of the Magistrate, to weare weapons, and to serue in laweful wares.

¹ quomobrem illi...obediendum est] quomobrem illi propter conscientiam obediendum est, nec ulli ex eius subditis licet aut vectigal aut tributum negare, ad regni seu republice statum tuendum et conservandum A.

² nor by God's word or of right ought to haue any maner of authority power or jurisdiction within this realme of England and Ireland or any part of the same, *Hooper's 35th Article.*

³ So that they do command nothing that is contrary unto God and his law, *Hooper's 36th Article.*

1568.

Iniunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina nostra nuper seditæ, apertissimè testantur: sed eam tantùm prerogatiuam, quam in sacris scripturis à Deo ipso omnibus pijs Principibus, uidemus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei suæ à Deo commissos, siue illi ecclesiastici sint, siue ciuiles, in officio contineant, & contumaces ac delinquentes, gladio ciuili coercuant.

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges Ciuiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia et grauiora crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet et ex mandato Magistratus arma portare, et iusta bella administrare.

1571.

or of Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queene, doth most plainlie testifie: But that only prerogative whiche we see to haue ben geuen alwayes to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God him selfe, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, and restraints with the ciuill sworde the stubberne and euill doers.

The bishop of Rome hath no iurisdiction in this Realme of Englande.

The lawes of the Realme may punish Christian men with death, for heynous and greuous offences.

It is lawfull for Christian men, at the commaundement of the Magistrate, to weare weapons, and serue in the warres.

1553.

XXXVII.

Christianorum bona non sunt communia.

Facultates & bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad jus & possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistæ falsò jactant; debet tamen quisque de his quæ possidet pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

XXXVIII.

Licet Christianis jurare.

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum & temerarium à Domino nostro Jesu Christo & ab Apostolo ejus Jacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianam religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin jubente Magistratu, in causa fidei & charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in Justitia, in Judicio & Veritate.

XXXIX.

Resurrectio mortuorum nondum est facta.

Resurrectio mortuorum non adhuc facta est, quasi tantum ad animum pertineat qui per Christi gratiam à morte peccatorum excitetur, sed extremo die quoad omnes qui obierunt, expectanda est; tunc enim vita defunctis (ut Scripturæ manifestissime testantur) propria corpora, carnes & ossa restituentur, ut homo integer, prout vel recte vel perditè

1553.

XXXVII.

Christien mennes gooddes are not commune.

The richesse and gooddes of christians are not commune, as touching the right title and possession of the same (as certain anabaptistes dooe falslie boaste); notwithstanding euery man ought of such thinges as he possesseth, liberallie to geue almes to the pore, according to his habitie.

XXXVIII.

Christien menne maie take an Othe.

As we confesse that vaine, and rashe swearing is forbed Christian men by our Lorde Jesu Christ, and his Apostle James: so we iudge that christien religion doeth not prohibite, but that a man maie sweare, when the magistrate requireth in a cause of faith, and charitie, so it bee doen (according to the Prophetes teaching) in iustice, indgemente, and trueth.

XXXIX.

The Resurrection of the dead is not yet brought to passe.

The Resurrection of the dead is not as yet brought to passe, as though it only belonged to the soulle, whiche by the grace of Christe is raised from the death of sinne, but it is to be loked for at the laste daie: for then (as Scripture doeth moste manifestlie testifie) to all that bee dead their awne bodies, fleshe, and bone shalbe restored, that the whole man maie

1563.

XXXVII.

*Christianorum bona non sunt communia.*¹

Facultates & bona Christianorum non sunt communia quoad ius & possessionem, vt quidam Anabaptistæ falso iactant. Debet tamen quisque de hijs quæ possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

XXXVIII.

*Licet Christianis Iurare.*⁴

Quemadmodum iuramentum nanum & temerarium à Domino nostro Iesu Christo, & Apostolo eius Iacobo Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur: ita Christianam⁵ religionem minimè prohibere censemus, quin iubente Magistratu, in causa fidei & charitatis, iurare liceat, modò id fiat iuxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in iustitia, in iudicio, & ueritate.

1571.

XXXVIII.

*Of Christian mens goodes which are not common.*²

The ryches and goodes of Christians are not common, as touching the ryght, title, and possession of the same, as certayne Anabaptistes do falsely boast. Notwithstandyng euery man ought of suche thinges as he possesseth, liberally to geue almes to the poore,³ accordyng to his habilitie.

XXXIX.

*Of a Christian mans othe.*⁶

As we confesse that vayne and rashe swearing is forbidden Christian men by our lord Iesus Christe, and James his Apostle: So we iudge that Christian religion doth not prohibite, but that a man may sweare when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charitie, so it be done accordyng to the prophetes teaching, in iustice, iudgement, and trueth.

¹ De illicita bonorum Communicatione E.

² Christen mens goodes are not common LB, D.

³ to the poore] wanting in LB.

⁴ De iurejurando E.

⁵ Christianam] Christianorum E.

⁶ Christian men may take an othe LB, D.

1558.

vixerit, juxta sua opera, sive præmia sive poenas reportet.

XL.

Defunctorum anima neque cum corporibus intereunt, neque otiose dormiunt.

Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu¹ dormire, aut illas asserunt una cum corporibus mori, & extrema die cum illis excitandas, ab orthodoxa fide, quæ nobis in sacris literis traditur, prorsus dissentiunt.

XLI.

Millenarii.

Qui *Millenariorum* fabulam revocare conantur, sacris literis adversantur, & in Judaica deliramenta sese præcipitant.

XLII.

Non omnes tandem servandi sunt.

Hi quoque damnatione digni sunt, qui conantur hodie perniciosam opinionem instaurare, quòd omnes, quantumvis impii, servandi sunt tandem, cum definito tempore à justitia divina poenas de admissis flagitiis luerunt.

Κύριε σῶσον τὸν Βασιλέα.

1559.

(according to his workes) have other rewards, or punishment, as he hath lined vertuouslie, or wickedlie.

XL.

The soules of them that departe this life doe neither die with the bodies, nor sleep idlie.

Thei whiche saie, that the soules of suche as departe hens doe sleepe, being without al sence, feeling, or perceiving, vntil the daie of iudgement, or affirme that the soules die with the bodies, and at the laste daie shalbe raised vp with the same, doe vtterlie dissent from the right beliefs declared to vs in holie Scripture.

XLI.

Hereticke called Millenarii.

Thei that goe about to renewe the fable of hereticke called Millenarii, be repugnant to holie Scripture, and caste them selues headlong into a Iulshé dotage.

XLII.

All men shall not bee saued at the length.

Thei also are worthe of condemnation, who indenoure at this time to restore the dangerouse opinion, that al menne, be thei neuer so vngodlie, shall at length bee saued, when thei haue suffered paines for their sinnes a certaine time appointed by Goddes iustice.

God saue the King.

¹ absque omni sensu] wanting in A.

1563.

1571.

Hos Articulos fidei Christianæ, continentes in uniuersum nouemdecim paginas in autographo, quod asseruatur apud Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem, Dominum Matthæum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, totius Angliæ Primatem & Metropolitanum,

The Ratification.

This Booke of Articles before rehearsed, is agayne approued, and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realme, by the ascent and consent of our Soueraigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of GOD, of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande Queene,

850

APPENDIX III.

1558.

1558.

1563.

Archiepiscopi & Episcopi utriusque Prouinciæ regni Angliæ, in sacra prouinciali Synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu recipiunt & profitentur, & ut ueros atque Orthodoxos, manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant, uicesimo nono die mensis Ianuarij: Anno Domini, secundum computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo: uniuersusque Clerus Inferioris domus, eodem etiam unanimiter & recepit & professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & deposuit apud eundem Reuerendissimum, quinto die Februarij, Anno prædicto.

Quibus omnibus articulis, Serenissima princeps Elizabeth, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Defensor, &c. per seipsam diligenter prius lectis & examinatis, Regium suum assensum præbuit.

1571.

defender of the fayth, &c. Which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed agayne by the subscription of the handes of the Archbyshop and Byshoppes of the vpper house, and by the subscription of the whole Cleargie in the neather house in their Conuocation, in the yere of our Lorde GOD. 1571.

- 1 Of fayth in the Trinitie.
- 2 Of Christe the sonne of GOD.
- 3 Of his goyng downe into hell.
- 4 Of his Resurrection.
- 5 Of the holy ghost.
- 6 Of the sufficiencie of the Scripture.
- 7 Of the olde Testament.
- 8 Of the three Credes.
- 9 Of originall sinne.
- 10 Of free wyll.
- 11 Of Iustification.
- 12 Of good workes.
- 13 Of workes before iustification.
- 14 Of workes of supererogation.
- 15 Of Christe alone without sinne.
- 16 Of sinne after Baptisme.
- 17 Of predestination and election.
- 18 Of obtayning saluation by Christe.
- 19 Of the Churche.
- 20 Of the authoritie of the Churche.
- 21 Of the authoritie of generall Counsels.

1553.

1553.

*Excusum Londini, apud Regi-
naldum Wolfum, Regiæ Majes-
tatis in Latinis Typographum,
Anno Dom. 1553.*

*Richardus Graftonus typo-
graphus Regius excudebat.
Londini mense Junii.
An. do. M.D.LIII.
Cum privilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.*

1563.

1571.

- 22 Of Purgatoria.
- 23 Of ministring in the congregation.
- 24 Of speaking in the congregation.
- 25 Of the Sacramentes.
- 26 Of the vnworthynesse of the Ministers.
- 27 Of Baptisme.
- 28 Of the Lordes supper.
- 29 Of the wicked whiche eate not the body of Christe.
- 30 Of both kyndes.
- 31 Of Christes one oblation.
- 32 Of the mariage of Priestes.
- 33 Of excommunicate persons.
- 34 Of traditions of the Church.
- 35 Of Homilies.
- 36 Of consecration of Ministers.
- 37 Of ciuill Magistrates.
- 38 Of christian mens goods.
- 39 Of a christian mans othe.
- 40 Of the ratification.

Excusum Londini apud REGI-
LDVM Wolfium, Regiæ Maiest.
Latinis typographum. ANNO
DMINI. 1563.

¶ Imprinted at London in
Powles Churchyard, by Richarde
Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers
to the Queenes Maiestie, in Anno
Domini 1571.

* Cum priuilegio Regiæ maies-
tatis.



APPENDIX

No. IV.

THE ELEVEN ARTICLES,

1559.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion set out by the order of both archbishops metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops for the uniformity of doctrine, to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them, that go about to slander the ministers of the church for diversity of judgment, as necessary for the instruction of their people; to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures, and also after that, yearly at two several times, that is to say, the Sunday next following Easter day, and St. Michael the archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the gospel.

For some account of the following Articles, see pp. 118 sqq., and for their circulation in Ireland after the year 1666, pp. 120, 178. They are here reprinted from Wilkins, iv. 195 sqq.

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and the pastors of the Church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith, when they shall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before my eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same:

First, That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things; and that in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, in the which Scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation, by the which also all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reprov'd and convicted, and all doctrine and articles necessary to salvation established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three Creeds, the Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and our common Creed called the Apostles' Creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the holy Scriptures.

III. I do acknowledge also that Church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used; and that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, clean to put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

IV. Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities, according to the ordinances of this realm.

V. Furthermore I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm, and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's Word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort, as is in the late act of

parliament expressed, and sithence by her majesty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

VI. Moreover, touching the Bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures and Word of God he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses; and therefore the power, which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal Church of Christ, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive Church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished in this realm.

VII. Furthermore I do grant and confess, that the book of common prayer and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the scriptures, and that it is catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people, both for that it is in a tongue, that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministrations contained in the same.

VIII. And although in the administration of baptism there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used, and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, that they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament full and perfectly ministered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

IX. Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive Church, I mean, public ministrations and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying, "Take ye and eat ye," etc. but also, that the doctrine, that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic, but contrary-wise most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

X. I am of that mind also, that the holy communion or sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds; and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the Church to be a plain sacrilege, to rob them of

the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood, seeing he himself hath said, "Drink ye all of this:" considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the Church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

Last of all, as I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles, and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man's fantasies, besides or contrary to the scriptures, as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such like superstition; which kind of works have no promise of reward in scripture, but contrary-wise threatenings and maledictions; so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works of faith, as charity, mercy, pity, alms, devout and frequent prayer with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only, godly abstinence and fasting, charity, obedience to the rulers, and superior powers, with such like works and godliness of life commanded by God in his word, which, as St. Paul saith, "hath promises both of this life and of the life to come," and are works only acceptable in God's sight.

These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet I do without all compulsion, with freedom of mind, and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word; and therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same, that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire now and for ever. Amen.

APPENDIX

No. V.

LAMBETH ARTICLES.

The following is a copy of the Lambeth Articles, in the form which they ultimately assumed. It is taken from Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 461, who thought it worthy of being entitled a 'correct and authentic' version. The truth is that we must carefully distinguish between the 'Articuli a D. Whitakero Lambethæ propositi,' and the 'Articuli approbati:' and for the sake of impressing this difference on the reader, the original theses are subjoined, together with a number of emendations suggested by the bishops, to whom they were afterwards presented. The commentary or *critique* of Whitgift and the rest, is preserved in a small publication, entitled 'Articuli Lambethani,' Lond. 1651, and afterwards appended to Elis's *Artic. XXXIX. Eccl. Anglican. Defensio* (original in the *Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 1. 29*, pp. 218, sq.).

Articuli approbati a reverendissimis Dominis, D.D. Joanne Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et Richardo Episcopo Londinensi, et aliis Theologis, Lambethæ, Novembris 20, Anno 1595.

- I. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.
- II. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.
- III. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.
- IV. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.
- V. Vera, viva et justificans fides, et spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.
- VI. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoria fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.
- VII. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si vulerint.
- VIII. Nemo potest venire ad Christum nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.
- IX. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

Articuli Lambethæ propositi prout a cl. v. D. Whitakero in ipsius autographo concepti, Episcopis aliisque Theologis Lambethæ proponebantur.

Articuli Lambethæ propositi prout ab Episcopis reliquisque Theologis concepti sunt, et de sensu, quo admissi sunt.

I.

Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.

'increduli;' his hic non intenditur, sedest verissimus Articulus.

I.

Admissus est hic Articulus totidem verbis. Nam si per primum 'quosdam' intelligantur 'credentes,' per secundum 'quosdam,'

II.

Causa efficiens Prædestinationis non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit personis prædestinatis, sed sola et absoluta et simplex voluntas Dei.

II.

Causa movens aut efficiens Prædestinationis 'ad vitam' non est 'prævisio' fidei aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum aut alius rei, quæ insit in personis prædestinatis; sed 'sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.' Additur in hoc

secundo Article a Lambethanis 1^o 'movens;' 2^o 'ad vitam;' 3^o mutatur 'sola absoluta et simplex voluntas Dei,' in 'sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei;' idque non sine justa ratione. Causa enim movens prædestinationis 'ad vitam,' non est 'fides,' sed 'meritum Christi,' cum Deus servandis salutem destinavit non propter fidem, sed propter Christum. 'Moventis' vocabulum proprie 'merito' convenit: Meritum autem est in obedientia Christi, non in fide nostra. Additur 'ad vitam,' quia licet prædestinationis 'ad mortem' causa sit 'prævisio' infidelitatis et impœnitentiæ, adeoque alicujus rei quæ insit personis prædestinatis 'ad mortem;' tamen nulla est causa prædestinationis 'ad vitam,' nisi sola 'voluntas beneplaciti Dei;' juxta illud Augustini, 'Prædestinationis causa quæritur et non invenitur; reprobationis vero causa quæritur et invenitur.' 'Absoluta et simplex voluntas Dei' majus quiddam dicit, quam sola voluntas beneplaciti. Nam et conditionalis voluntas est beneplaciti, et vult Deus nos recte facere, si nos velimus ejus gratiæ non deesse: et placuit Deo servare singulos homines, si crederent.

III.

Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

vel pauciores servantur quam Deus præsciverit.

III.

In hoc Articulo nihil mutatur: verissimus enim est si de præscientia Dei intelligatur quæ nunquam fallitur. Non enim plures

IV.

Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata condemnabuntur.

thesin et priorem interpreteris ut et 'peccata' et 'damnationem' necessitate quadam ex ipsa prædestinatione deducas atque ex ea fluere existimes, aperte Augustino, Prospero, Fulgentio, &c. contradicis, et cum Manichæis Deum peccati autorem necesse est facias.

IV.

In hoc Articulo nihil mutatur; verissimus enim est; quia statuit Deus non remittere peccata nisi credentibus. Quod si ita hanc

V.

Vera, viva et justificans fides et spiritus Dei sanctificans non exstinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt, aut totaliter aut finaliter.

pro quibus a Lambethanis substituta sunt 'in electis,' sensu plane alio, et ad mentem Augustini; cum in autographo sint ad mentem Calvinii. Augustinus enim opinatus est, 'veram fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur, per quam contingit adoptio, justificatio et sanctificatio, posse et intercidi et amitti: fidem vero esse commune donum electis et reprobis, sed perseverantiam electis propriam.' Calvinus autem, 'veram et justificantem fidem solis salvandis et electis contingere.' Et cl. v. D. Overal defendit et in Academia et in Conventu Hamptoniensi,¹ 'justificatum, si incidat in graviora peccata, antequam penitentiam agat, in statu esse damnationis: ibique contraria sententia quæ statuit, 'justificatum, etiamsi in peccata graviora incidat, justificatum tamen manere,' a Regia Majestate damnata est: ita in hoc Articulo nihil minus quam Whitakeri sententia probata est.

V.

Vera, viva et justificans fides et spiritus Dei sanctificans non exstinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, in 'electis' aut totaliter, aut finaliter. In autographo Whitakeri verba erant, 'in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt;'

¹ See above, p. 210.

VI.

Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est, certitudine fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

VI.

'Homo vere fidelis, id est fide justificante præditus,' certus est 'plerophoria fidei' de 'remissione' peccatorum suorum et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

Nihil hic mutatur, nisi quod pro 'certitudine' substituitur vox Græca 'plerophoria.' Quidam autem ex theologis voluerunt, pro fidei plerophoria, reponi spei plerophoriam: verum eorum absentia cum transigeretur negotium, effecit ut maneret vox 'fidei' quam scripserat Whitakerus. Voce autem 'plerophoriæ' usi sunt, quia non designat plenam et absolutam certitudinem, qualis est 'scientiæ vel principiorum fidei,' (cum fides sit talium rerum, quarum est evidentia vel certa scientia), sed minorem quandam certitudinis gradum, quippe cum etiam in judiciariis et forensibus probationibus usurpetur.

Verissimus est hic articulus, si de certitudine præsentis status intelligatur, aut etiam futuri, sed conditionata. Credit enim fidelis se credere, et credit credentem servatum iri; credit etiam perseveraturum se; sed non una omnino et eadem certitudine: quia certitudo hæc partim nititur Dei promissionibus, qui nos tentari ultra vires non patitur; partim pii propositi sinceritate, quæ pro tempore futuro nos Deo obedientiam præstituros sancte in nos recipimus.

Alioqui si hic sensus affingitur assertioni, 'hominem certitudine eadem, qua Christum credit mortuum et esse mundi salvatorem, credere debere, se esse servandum, sive electum,' repugnaret hæc assertio Confessioni regis Edvardi, in qua legitur, 'decretum prædestinationis incognitum est;' et Augustino, 'Prædestinatio apud nos, dum in præsentis vitæ periculis versamur, incerta est.' *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. xi. cap. 12, et alibi, 'Justi, licet de suæ perseverantiæ præmio certi sint, tamen de ipsa perseverantia reperiuntur incerti.'

VII.

Gratia sufficiens ad salutem non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint.

VII.

Gratia 'salutaris' non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint. Pro 'gratia sufficienti ad salutem,'

quod erat in Whitakeri autographo substituerunt Lambethani, 'gratiam salutarem;' ut plane appareat loqui eos de ea gratia, quæ est actu ultimo salutaris sive actu efficax, seu quæ per se, non addita nova

gratia, salutem operatur. Hæc quidem non conceditur, sed ne offertur universis, cum sint plurimi (utpote pagani, &c.) quibus Evangelium nec interna nec externa voce prædicetur. Ergo illa verba 'qua servari possint si velint' intelligenda sunt de potentia proxima et immediata. Nam si de potentia remotiore intellexissent, frustra induxissent vocem 'gratiæ sufficientis,' quæ 'sufficiens' appellari solet, non quod sit efficax, vel per se actu operetur salutem, sed quod sufficiens sit ad salutem ducere, modo homo non ponat obicem. Et hæc Augustini et Prosperi fuit sententia, qui 'gratiam saltem parciorem, occultiozemque omnibus datam' aiunt, et talem quidem quæ ad remedium sufficeret. Unde Fulgentius, 'Quod non adjuvantur quidam a gratia Dei, in ipsis causa est, non in Deo.'

VIII.

Nemo potest venire ad Christum nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit: et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad filium.

In hoc articulo nihil mutatum: non omnes trahuntur tractu ultimo. Sed qui negat omnes trahi tractu remotiore tollit opitulatio- nem illam generalem, sive commune auxilium quo omnium hominum corda pulsari dicit Prosper. Tractum autem Theologi Lambethani non intellexerunt (cum Whitakero) 'determinationem physicam irresistibilem;' sed Divinam operationem (prout communiter in conversione hominis operatur) quæ naturam voluntatis liberam non tollit, sed ad bonum spirituale idoneam primo facit, deinde et ipsam bonam facit.

VIII.

In hoc articulo nihil mutatum: non omnes trahuntur tractu ultimo. Sed qui negat omnes trahi tractu remotiore tollit opitulatio- nem illam generalem, sive commune auxilium quo omnium hominum corda pulsari dicit Prosper.

IX.

Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

In hoc quoque nihil mutatum: verissimum enim est, salutem nostram esse primario non in nobis, sed a gratia præveniente, excitante, concomitante et subsequente in omni opere bono; secundario ab arbitrio et voluntate hominis consentiente atque acceptante. Nulla potestas est arbitrii ad bonum spirituale, nisi gratia non modo tollat impedimenta, sed et vires sup- peditet. Non est ergo positum in arbitrio 'primitus et potissimum;' imo nullo modo in arbitrio est positum, ut homo quilibet quolibet momento ad salutem possit pervenire. At vero esse aliquam aliquando in arbitrio potestatem gratiæ subordinatam et gratiæ consentien- tem, nemo inficias iverit, qui Augustinum audiverit: 'Dum tempus est, (inquit,) dum in nostra potestate est opera bona facere:' et alibi, de pœnis inferni loquens: 'Majus est (inquit) quod timere debes, et in potestate habes ne eveniat tibi.'

IX.

In hoc quoque nihil mutatum: verissimum enim est, salutem nostram esse primario non in nobis,

APPENDIX

No. VI.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION

AGREED UPON BY

THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS,
AND THE REST OF THE CLEARGIE OF IRELAND,

In the Conuocation holden at Dublin in the yeare of our
Lord God 1615, for the auoiding of Diuersities of
Opinions, and the establishing of consent
touching true Religion.

For some account of the appearance and authority of these Articles, see above, pp. 180 sqq. They are now reprinted from a copy of the original edition, which is appended to Dr. Elrington's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*.

IRISH ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

Of the holy Scripture and the three Creeds.

1. The ground of our Religion, and the rule of faith and all saving truth is the word of God, contained in the holy Scripture.

2. By the name of holy Scripture we understand all the Canonical Bookes of the Old and New Testament, viz. :

Of the Old Testament.

The 5 Bookes of Moses.	Esther.
Iosua.	Iob.
Iudges.	Psalmes.
Ruth.	Prouerbes.
The first and second of Samuel.	Ecclesiastes.
The first and second of Kings.	The Song of Salomon.
The first and second of Chronicles.	Isaiah.
Esa.	Ieremiah, his Prophesie and Lamentation.
Nehemiah.	Ezechiel.
	Daniel.
	The 12 lesse Prophets.

Of the New Testament.

The Gospells according to Matthew.	Philippians.
Marke.	Colossians.
Luke.	Thessalonians 2.
Iohn.	Timothie 2.
The Actes of the Apostles.	Titus.
The Epistle of S. Paul to the Romaines.	Philemon.
Corinthians 2.	Hebrewes.
Galathians.	The Epistle of S. Iamcs.
Ephesians.	Saint Peter 2.
	Saint Iohn 3.
	Saint Iude.
	The Reuelation of S. Iohn.

All which wee acknowledge to be giuen by the inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certaine credit and highest authority.

3. The other Bookes, commonly called *Apocryphall*, did not proceede from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient authoritie to establish any point of doctrine ; but the Church doth reade them as Bookes containing many worthy things for example of life and instruction of maners.

Such are these following :

The thirde booke of Esdras.	Baruch, with the Epistle of Ieremiah.
The fourth booke of Esdras.	The song of the three Children.
The booke of Tobias.	Susanna.
The booke of Iudith.	Bell and the Dragon.
Additions to the booke of Esther.	The praier of Manasses.
The booke of Wisedome.	The First booke of Macchabees.
The booke of Iesus, the Sonne of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus.	The second booke of Macchabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the original tongues into all languages for the common use of all men : neither is any person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a language, as he doth vnderstand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humilitie and reuerence, as a speciall meanes to bring him to the true knowledge of God, and of his owne duty.

5. Although there bee some hard things in the Scripture (especially such as haue proper relation to the times in which they were first vttered, and prophesies of things which were afterwarde to bee fulfilled), yet all things necessary to be known vnto euerlasting saluation are cleerely deliuered therein : and nothing of that kinde is spoken vnder darke mysterie in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainly, to the capacitie both of learned and vnlearned.

6. The holy Scriptures containe all things necessary to saluation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to beleue, and all good duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and euerie the Articles contained in the *Nicene Creede*, the *Creede of Athanasius*, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creede*, ought firmly to bee receiued and beleued, for they may be proued by most certaine warrant of holy Scripture.

Of faith in the holy Trinitie.

8. There is but one living and true God, euerlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodnes, the maker and preseruer of all things, both visible and inuisible. And in vnitie of this Godhead, there be three persons of one and the same substance power and eternitie: the Father, the Sone, and the holy Ghost.

9. The essence of the Father doth not begett the essence of the Sonne; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Sonne, by communicating his whole essence to the person begotten from eternitie.

10. The holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, is of one substance, maiestie, and glory, with the Father and the Sonne, very and eternall God.

Of God's eternall decree, and Predestination.

11. God from all eternitie did by his vnchangeable counsell ordaine whatsoeuer in time should come to passe: yet so, as thereby no violence is offred to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the libertie nor the contingencie of the second causes is taken away, but established rather.

12. By the same eternall counsell God hath predestinated some vnto life, and reprobated some vnto death: of both which there is a certaine number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished.¹

13. Predestination to life, is the euerlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were layed, he hath constantly decreed in his secret counsell to deliuer from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankinde, and to bring them by Christ vnto euerlasting saluation, as vessels made to honor.

14. The cause mouing God to predestinate vnto life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or perseuerance, or good workes, or of anything which is in the person predestinated, but onely the good pleasure of God himselfe.² For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appeare both in the workes of his Mercy and of his Iustice; it seemed good to his heauenly wisdom to choose out a certaine number towards whome he would extend his vnderserued mercy, leauing the rest to be spectacles of his iustice.

15. Such as are predestinated vnto life, be called according vnto

¹ [Lambeth Articles, I. III.]

² [Ibid. II.]

Gods purpose (his spirit working in due season) and through grace they obey the calling, they bee iustified freely, they bee made sonnes of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his onely begotten Sonne Iesus Christ, they walke religiously in good workes, and at length, by God's mercy they attaine to euerlasting felicitie. But such as are not predestinated to saluation, shall finally be condemned for their sinnes.¹

16. The godlike consideration of Predestination and our election in Christ, is full of sweete, pleasant, and vnspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as feele in themselues the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the workes of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing vp their mindes to high and heauenly things: as well because it doth greatly confirme and establish their faith of eternall saluation to be enioyed through Christ, as because it doth feruently kindle their loue towards God: and on the contrary side, for curious and carnall persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to haue continually before their eies the sentence of Gods predestination, is very dangerous.

17. Wee must receiue Gods promises in such wise as they be generally set forth vnto vs in holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we haue expressly declared vnto vs in the word of God.

Of the creation and gouernement of all things.

18. In the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the space of sixe dayes, created all things, and afterwarde by his prouidence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his owne will.

19. The principall creatures are Angels and men.

20. Of Angels, some continued in that holy state wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for euer established therein: others fell from the same, and are reserved in chaines of darkenesse vnto the indgement of the great day.

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which consisted especially in the Wisdome of his minde and the true Holyness of his free will) had the couenant of the lawe ingrafted in his heart: whereby God did promise vnto him euerlasting life, vpon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience vnto his Commandements, according to that measure of strength

¹ [Lambeth Articles, iv.]

wherewith hee was endued in his creation, and threatned death vnto him if he did not performe the same.

Of the fall of man, originall sinne, and the state of man before iustification.

22. By one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne; and so death went ouer all men, for as much as all haue sinned.

23. Originall sinne standeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dreame) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of euery person that naturally is ingendred and propagated from Adam: whereby it commeth to passe that man is deprived of originall righteousnes, and by nature is bent vnto sinne. And therefore, in euery person borne into the world, it deserueth Gods wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remaine euen in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh alwaies lusteth against the spirit, and cannot bee made subject to the lawe of God. And howsoeuer, for Christs sake there bee no condemnation to such as are regenerate and doe beleue: yet doth the Apostle acknowledge that in it selfe this concupiscence hath the nature of sinne.

25. The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turne, and prepare himselfe by his owne naturall strength and good workes, to faith, and calling vpon God. Wherefore we haue no power to doe good workes, pleasing and acceptable vnto God, without the grace of God preuenting vs, that we may haue a good will, and working with vs when wee haue that good will.

26. Workes done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasing vnto God, for as much as they spring not of faith in Iesus Christ, neither do they make men meete to receaue grace, or (as the Schoole Authours say) deserue grace of congruities: yea rather, for that they are not done in such sorte as God hath willed and commaunded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinfull.

27. All sinnes are not equall, but some farre more heynous than others; yet the very least is of its owne nature mortall, and without Gods mercy maketh the offender lyable vnto euerlasting damnation.

28. God is not the Author of sinne: howbeit he doth not only permitt, but also by his prouidence governe and order the same, guiding it in such sorte by his infinite wisdom, as it turneth to the manifestation of his owne glory and to the good of his elect.

Of Christ, the mediator of the second Covenant.

29. The Sonne, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the true and eternall God, of one substance with the Father, tooke mans nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhoode were inseparably ioyned in one person, making one Christ very God and very man.

30. Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like vnto vs in all things, sinne only excepted, from which he was cleerely voyd, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a Lambe without spott, to take away the sins of the world, by the sacrifice of himselfe once made, and sinne (as *Saint Iohn* saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for vs perfectly: For our sakes he endured most grieuous torments immediatly in his soule, and most painefull sufferings in his body. He was crucified, and dyed to reconcile his Father vnto vs, and to be a sacrifice not onely for originall guilt, but also for all our actuall transgressions. He was buried and descended into hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and tooke againe his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of mans nature: wherewith he ascended into Heauen, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, vntil hee returne to iudge all men at the last day.

Of the communicating of the grace of Christ.

31. They are to be condemned, that presume to say that euery man shalbe saued by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out vnto vs only the name of Iesus Christ whereby men must be saued.

32. None can come vnto Christ, vnlesse it bee giuen vnto him, and vnlesse the Father drawe him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father that they may come vnto the Son. Neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto euerie man whereby he is enabled to come vnto everlasting life.¹

33. All Gods elect are in their time inseparably vnited vnto Christ by the effectuall and vitall influence of the holy Ghost, deriued from him as from the head vnto euery true member of his mysticall body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truely regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

¹ [Lambeth Articles, vii. viii. ix.]

Of Iustification and Faith.

34. We are accounted righteous before God, onely for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, applied by faith; and not for our owne workes or merits. And this righteousnes, which we so receiue of Gods mercie and Christs merits, imbraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full iustification.

35. Although this iustification be free vnto vs, yet it commeth not so freely vnto vs, that there is no ransome paid therefore at all. God shewed his great mercie in delinering vs from our former captiuitie, without requiring of any deserte of ours, to provide for vs the most precious merits of his owne Sonne, whereby our ransome might be fully payd, the lawe fulfilled, and his iustice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousnes of all them that truely beleene in him. Hee for them payd their ransome by his death. He for them fulfilled the lawe in his life; that now in him, and by him euerie true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the lawe: forasmuch as that which our infirmitie was not able to effect, Christs iustice hath performed. And thus the iustice and mercie of God doe embrace each other: the grace of God not shutting out the iustice of God in the matter of our iustification; but onely shutting out the iustice of man (that is to say, the iustice of our owne workes) from being any cause of deseruing our iustification.

36. ¹ When we say that we are iustified by Faith onely, we do not meane that the said iustifying faith is alone in man, without true Repentance, Hope, Charity, and the feare of God (for such a faith is dead, and cannot iustifie), neither do we meane, that this our act to beleene in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within vs, doth of it selfe iustifie vs, or deserue our iustification vnto vs, (for that were to account our selues to bee iustified by the vertue or dignitie of some thing that is within our selues :) but the true vnderstanding and meaning thereof is that although we heare Gods word and beleene it, although we haue Faith, Hope, Charity, Repentance, and the feare of God within us, and adde neuer so many good workes thereunto: yet wee must renounce the merit of all our said vertues, of Faith, Hope, Charitie, and all our other vertues, and good deeds,

¹ [Cf. Homily, *Of Salvation*, Part II. p. 24, ed. Camb.]

which we either haue done, shall doe, or can doe, as things that be farre too weake and vnperfect, and vnsufficient to deserue remission of our sinnes, and our iustification : and therefore we must trust onely in Gods mercie, and the merits of his most dearely beloned Sonne, our onely Redeemer, Saniour, and Iustifier Iesus Christ. Neuerthelesse, because Faith 'doth directly send vs to Christ for our iustification, and that by faith given vs of God wee embrace the promise of Gods mercie, and the remission of our sinnes, (which thing none other of our vertues or workes properly doth :) therefore the Scripture vseth .to say, that *Faith without workes*; and the auncient fathers of the Church to the same purpose, that *onely Faith* doth iustifie vs.

37. By iustifying Faith wee vnderstand not onely the common beleefe of the Articles of Christian Religion, and the perswasion of the truth of Gods worde in generall : but also a particular application of the grations promises of the Gospell, to the comfort of our owne soules : whereby we lay hold on Christ, with all his benefits, hauing an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he will be mercifull vnto vs for his onely Sonnes sake. So that a true beleever may be certaine, by the assurance of faith, of the forgiuenesse of his sinnes, and of his euerlasting salvation by Christ.¹

38. A true lively iustifying faith, and the sanctifying spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in the regenerate, either finally or totally.²

Of sanctification and good workes.

39. All that are iustified, are likewise sanctified: their faith being alwaies accompanied with true Repentance and good Workes.

40. Repentance is a gift of God, whereby a godly sorrow is wrought in the heart of the faithfull, for offending God their mercifull Father by their former transgressions, together with a constant resolution for the time to come to cleaue unto God, and to lead a new life.

41. Albeit that good workes, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after iustification, cannot make satisfaction for our sinnes, and endure the seueritie of Gods iudgement: yet are they pleasing to God and accepted of him in Christ, and doe spring from a true and lively faith, which by them is to be discerned, as a tree by the fruite.

42. The workes which God would haue his people to walke in,

¹ [Lambeth Articles, vi.]

² [Ibid. v.]

are such as he hath commaunded in his holy Scripture, and not such workes as men haue deuised out of their own braine, of a blind zeale, and deuotion, without the warrant of the worde of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the lawe of God perfectly in this life. For in many things we offend all: and if we say, we haue no sinne, wee deceaue our selues, and the truth is not in vs.

44. Not euerie heynous sinne willingly committed after baptisme, is sinne against the holy Ghost, and vnpardonable. And therefore to such as fall into sinne after baptisme, place for repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary workes, besides ouer and aboue God's commandements, which they call workes of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancie and impietie. For by them men doe declare that they doe not onely render vnto God as much as they are bound to doe, but that they doe more for his sake then of bounden duty is required.

Of the seruice of God.

46. Our dutie towards God is to beleene in him, to feare him, and to loue him with all our heart, with all our minde, and with all our soule, and with all our strength, to worship him, and to giue him thanks, to put our whole trust in him, to call vpon him, to honour his holy Name and his word, and to serue him truly all the days of our life.¹

47. In all our necessities we ought to haue recourse vnto God by prayer: assuring our selues, that whatsoever we aske of the Father, in the name of his Sonne (our onely mediator and intercessor) Christ Iesus, and according to his will, he will vndoubtedly grant it.

48. Wee ought to prepare our hearts before wee pray: that both our hearts and voyces may together sound in the eares of Gods Maiestie.

49. When almightie God smiteth vs with affliction, or some great calamitie hangeth ouer vs, or any other waighty cause so requireth; it is our dutie to humble our selues in fasting, to bewaile our sinnes with a sorrowfull heart, and to addict our selues to earnest prayer, that it might please God to turne his wrath from vs, or supplie vs with such graces as wee greatly stand in neede of.

50. ² Fasting is a with-holding of meat, drinke, and all naturall foode, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined

¹ [From the 'Catechism.']

² [Cf. Homily, Of Fasting, p. 284.]

time of fasting. As for those abstinences which are appointed by publike order of our state, for eating of fish and forbearing of flesh at certaine times and daies appointed, they are no wayes ment to bee religious fastes, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choice of meates, but are grounded meerely vpon politicke considerations, for prouision of things tending to the better preseruation of the Commonwealt.

51. Wee must not fast with this perswasion of minde, that our fasting can bring vs to heauen, or ascribe holynesse to the outward worke wrought. For God alloweth not our faste for the worke sake (which of it selfe is a thing meerely indifferent), but chiefly respecteth the heart, how it is affected therein. It is therefore requisit that first before all things we cleanse our hearts from sinne, and then direct our fast to such ends as God will allow to bee good: that the flesh may thereby be chastised, the spirit may be more feruent in prayer, and that our fasting may bee a testimony of our humble submission to Gods maiestie, when wee acknowledge our sinnes vnto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulnesse of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies.

52. All worship deuised by mans phantasie, besides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandring on Pilgrimages, setting vp of Candles, Stations, and Iubilies, Pharisaiicall sects and fained religions, praying vpon Beades, and such like superstition) hath not onely no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise threatnings and maledictions.

53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, in an outward forme, is vtterly vnlawfull. As also all other images deuised or made by man to the use of Religion.

54. All religious worship ought to bee giuen to God alone; from whome all goodnesse, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very author and giner of the same, and from none other.

55. The name of God is to be vsed with all reuerence and holy respect: and therefore all vaine and rash swearing is vtterly to be condemned. Yet notwithstanding vpon lawful occasions, an oath may be giuen, and taken, according to the word of God, *iustice, iudgement, and truth.*

56. The first day of the weeke, which is the *Lords day*, is wholly to be dedicated unto the seruice of God: and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily buysinesse, and to bestow that leasure vpon holy exercises, both publike and private.

Of the Ciuill Magistrate.

57. The Kings Maiesty vnder God hath the Soueraigne and chiefe power, within his Realmes and Dominions, ouer all manner of persons, of what estate, either Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, soeuer they bee; so as no other forraine power hath or ought to haue any superiority ouer them.

58. Wee doe professe that the supream gouernement of all estates within the said Realmes and Dominions, in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, doth of right appertaine to the Kings highnes. Neither doe we giue vnto him hereby the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the Keyes: but that prerogatiue onely, which we see to haue been alwaies giuen vnto all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himselfe; that is, that hee should containe all estates and degree committed to his charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, within their duty, and restraine the stubborne and euil doers with the power of the Ciuill sword.

59. The Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Se of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or dispose any of his Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorise any other Prince to invade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to give licence or leaue to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Royall person, state, or gouernement, or to any of his subjects within his Maiesties Dominions.

60. That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever, is impious doctrine.

61. The lawes of the Realme may punish Christian men with death for heynous and grienous offences.

62. It is lawfull for Christian men, at the commandement of the Magistrate, to beare armes, and to serue in iust wars.

Of our duty towards our Neighbours.

63. ¹ Ovr duty towards our neighbours is, to loue them as our selues, and to do to all men as we would they should doe to us; to honour and obey our Superiours; to preserue the safety of mens persons, as also their chastitie, goods, and good names; to beare no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keepe our bodies in temperance, sobernes,

[Cf. 'Catechism.']. .

and chastitie; to be true and iust in all our doings; not to couet other mens goodes, but labour truely to get our owne liuing, and to doe our dutie in that estate of life vnto which it pleaseth God to call us.

64. For the preseration of the chastitie of mens persons, wedlocke is commaunded vnto all men that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God, but that the ministers of the Church may enter into the state of Matrimony: they being no where commaunded by Gods Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstaine from marriage. Therefore it is lawfull also for them, as well as for all other Christian men, to marrie at their owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlines.

65. The riches and goodes of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same: as certaine Anabaptists falsely affirme. Notwithstanding euerie man ought of such things as hee possesseth, liberally to giue almes to the poore, according to his ability.

66. Faith giuen, is to be kept, even with Hereticks and Infidells.

67. The Popish doctrine of Equiuocation and mentall Resernation, is most vngodly, and tendeth plainely to the subuersion of all humaine society.

Of the Church, and outward ministry of the Gospell.

68. There is but one Catholike Church (out of which there is no saluation) containing the uniuersall company of all the Saints that euer were, are, or shalbe, gathered together in one body, vnder one head Christ Iesus: part whereof is already in heaven *triumphant*, part as yet *militant* heere vpon earth. And because this Church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God vnto saluation, & regenerated by the power of his spirit, the number of whome is knowne only vnto God himselfe; therefore it is called the *Catholike* or vniversall, and the *Inuisible* Church.

69. But particular and visible Churches (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and line vnder the outward meanes of saluation) be many in number: wherein the more or lesse sincerely according to Christs institution, the word of God is taught, the Sacraments are administred, and the authority of the Keyes is vsed, the more or lesse pure are such Churches to bee accounted.

70. Although in the visible Church the euil bee euer mingled with the good, and sometimes the euill haue chiefe authoritie in the ministracion of the word & Sacraments: yet, for as much as they doe not the same in their owne name, but in Christs, and minister by his

commission and authority, we may vse their ministry both in hearing the word and in receauing the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christs ordinance taken away by their wickednesse : nor the grace of Gods gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly doe receane the Sacraments ministred vnto them ; which are effectuell, because of Christs institution and promise, although they be ministred by euill men. Neuerthelesse it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of euill ministers, and that they be accused by those that haue knowledge of their offences, and finally being found guiltie, by iust iudgement bee deposed.

71. It is not lawfull for any man to take vpon him the office of publike preaching or ministring the Sacraments in the Church, vnles hee bee first lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfully called and sent, which bee chosen and called to this worke by men who haue publike authoritie giuen them in the Church, to call and send ministers into the Lords vineyard.

72. To haue publike prayer in the Church, or to administer the Sacraments in a tongue not vnderstood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custome of the Primitive Church.

73. That person which by publike denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to bee taken of the whole multitude of the faithfull, as a Heathen and Publican, vntill by Repentance he be openly reconciled and receaned into the Church, by the iudgement of such as haue authoritie in that behalfe.

74. God hath giuen power to his ministers, not simply to forgiue sinnes, (which prerogatiue he hath reserued onely to himselfe) but in his name to declare and pronounce vnto such as truely repent and vnfaignedly beleene his holy Gospell, the absolution and forgiuenesse of sinnes. Neither is it Gods pleasure that his people should bee tied to make a particular confession of all their knowen sinnes vnto any mortal man : howsoeuer any person grieued in his conscience, vpon any speciall cause, may well resorte vnto any godly and learned Minister, to receaue aduise and comfort at his hands.

*Of the authoritie of the Church, generall Councells, and Bishop
of Rome.*

75. It is not lawfull for the Church to ordaine any thing that is contrary to Gods word : neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church

bee a witness, and a keeper of holy writ: yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be beleueed vpon necessitie of saluation.

76. Generall Councells may not be gathered together without the commaundement and will of Princes; and when they be gathered together (for as much as they be an assembly of men not alwaies gouerned with the spirit and word of God) they may erre, and sometimes haue erred, euen in things pertaining to the rule of pietie. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to saluation, haue neither strength nor authority, vnlesse it may be shewed that they bee taken out of holy Scriptures.

77. Euery particular Church hath authority to institute, to change, and cleane to put away ceremonies and other Ecclesiasticall rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, makinge more to seemelynes, to order, or edification.

78. As the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch* haue erred: so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not onely in those things which concerne matter of practise and point of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

79. The power which the Bishop of *Rome* now challengeth, to be Supreme head of the vniuersall Church of Christ, and to be aboue all Emperours, Kings and Princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the Primitiue Church; and therefore is for most iust causes taken away and abolished within the Kings Maiesties Realmes and Dominions.

80. The Bishop of *Rome* is so farre from being the supreme head of the vniuersall Church of Christ, that his workes and doctrine doe plainly discover him to bee *that man of sinne*, foretold in the holy Scriptures, *whome the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightnes of his comming.*

Of the State of the old and new Testament.

81. In the Old Testament the Commaundements of the Law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkely propounded, shaddowed with a multitude of types and figures, and so much the more generally and obscurely deliuered, as the manifesting of them was further off.

82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New. For both in the Old and New Testament euerlasting life is offered to mankinde by Christ, who is the onely mediator betweene God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which faine

that the old Fathers did looke onely for transitory promises. For they looked for all benefits of God the Father through the merits of his Sonne Iesus Christ, as we now doe: onely they beleened in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

83. The New Testament is full of grace and truth, bringing ioyfull tidings vnto mankinde, that whatsoever formerly was promised of Christ, is now accomplished: and so in stead of the auncient types and ceremonies, exhibiteth the things themselues, with a large and cleere declaration of all the benefits of the Gospell. Neither is the ministry thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised nation, but is indifferently propounded vnto all people, whether they be Iewes or Gentils. So that there is now no Nation which can truly complaine that they be shut forth from the communion of Saints and the liberties of the people of God.

84. Although the Law giuen from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites be abolished, and the Ciuill precepts thereof be not of necessitie to be receaued in any Common-wealth: yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is freed from the obedience of the Commandements, which are called Morall.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

85. The Sacraments ordained by Christ be not onely badges or tokens of Christian mens profession: but rather certaine sure witnesses, and effectuall or powerfull signes of grace and Gods good will towards us, by which he doth worke inuisibly in vs, and not onely quicken but also strengthen and confirme our faith in him.

86. There bee two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospell, that is to say, *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*.

87. Those five which by the Church of *Rome* are called Sacraments, to witt, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Extreame unction*, are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Gospell: being such as hane partly growen from corrupt imitation of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet hane not like nature of Sacraments with *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*, for that they hane not any visible signe or ceremonie ordained of God, together with a promise of sauing grace annexed thereunto.

88. The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed vpon, or to be carried about; but that we should duely vse them. And in such onely as worthyly receaue the same, they hane a wholesome effect and operation; but they that receaue them vnworthily, thereby draw iudgement vpon themselues.

Of Baptisme.

89. Baptisme is not onely an outward signe of our profession, and a note of difference, whereby Christians are discerned from such as are no Christians; but much more a Sacrament of our admission into the Church, sealing vnto vs our new birth (and consequently our Iustification, Adoption, and Sanctification) by the communion which we haue with Iesus Christ.

90. The Baptisme of Infants is to be retained in the Church, as agreeable to the word of God.

91. In the administration of Baptisme, *Exorcisme, Oile, Salte, Spittle*, and superstitious *hallowing of the water*, are for iust causes abolished: and without them the Sacrament is fully and perfectly administered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saniour Christ.¹

Of the Lords Supper.

92. The Lords supper is not onely a signe of the mutuall loue which Christians ought to beare one towards another, but much more a Sacrament of our preservation in the Church, sealing vnto vs our spirituall nourishment and continuall growth in Christ.

93. The change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ, commonly called *Transubstantiation*, cannot be proued by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to plaine testimonies of the Scripture, ouerthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath giuen occasion to most grosse Idolatry, and manifold superstitions.

94. In the outward part of the Holy Communion, the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is in a most liuely manner *represented*; being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signes and seales, that is to say, symbolically and relatively. But in the inward and spirituall part the same Body and Bloud is really and substantially *presented* vnto all those who haue grace to receaue the Sonne of God, euen to all those that beleene in his name. And vnto such as in this manner doe worthylye and with faith repair vnto the Lords table, the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is not onely signified and offered, but also truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The Bodie of Christ is giuen, taken, and eaten in the Lords

¹ [Cf. 'Eleven Articles,' § viii.]

Supper, onely after an heauenly and spirituall manner; and the meane whereby the Body of Christ is thus receaved and eaten is Faith.

96. The wicked, and such as want a lively faith, although they doe carnally and visibly (as Saint Augustine speaketh) presse with their teeth the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, yet in no wise are they made partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation doe eat and drinke the signe or Sacrament of so great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lords Sacrament, according to Christs institution and the practise of the auncient Church, ought to be ministered vnto Gods people; and it is plain sacriledge to rob them of the mysticall cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious bloud.¹

98. The Sacrament of the *Lords Supper* was not by Christs ordinance reserued, carried about, lifted vp, or worshipped.

99. The sacrifice of the Masse, wherein the Priest is said to offer vp Christ for obtaining the remission of paine or guilt for the quicke and the dead, is neither agreeable to Christs ordinance nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolike; but contrarywise most ungodly and most iniurious to that all-sufficient sacrifice of our Saviour Christ, offered once for euer vpon the Crosse, which is the onely propitiation and satisfaction for all our sinnes.

100. Priuate Masse, that is, the receiuing of the *Eucharist* by the Priest alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the institution of Christ.

Of the state of the soules of men, after they be departed out of this life: together with the generall Resurrection, and the last Iudgement.

101. After this life is ended the soules of Gods children be presently receaned into Heauen, there to enjoy vnspeakable comforts; the soules of the wicked are cast into Hell, there to endure endlesse torments.

102. The doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning *Limbus Patrum, Limbus Puerorum, Purgatorie, Prayer for the dead, Pardons, Adoration of Images and Relickes*, and also *Inuocation of Saints* is vainely inuented without all warrant of holy Scripture, yea and is contrary vnto the same.

103. At the end of this world the Lord Iesus shall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almightie power of God, the liuing shalbe changed and the dead shalbe raised;

¹ [Cf. 'Eleven Articles,' § x.]

and all shall appeare both in body and soule before his iudgement seat, to receaue according to that which they haue done in their bodies, whether good or euill.

104. When the last iudgement is finished, Christ shall deliuer vp the Kingdome to his Father, and God shalbe all in all.

The Decree of the Synod.

If any Minister, of what degree or qualitie soener he be, shall publicly teach any doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed vpon, If, after due admonition, he doe not conforme himselfe, and cease to disturbe the peace of the Church, let him bee silenced, and deprived of all spirituall promotions he doth enjoy.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

The following *Notes and Illustrations*, where not drawn exclusively from authorized or 'symbolical' writings of the Roman and Reformed Communion, are suggested by works of the Reformation-period, in which the language is strikingly parallel or else as strikingly antagonistic to expressions in the XXXIX. Articles. The value of such contemporary illustrations of our present series will appear in cases where the phraseology is technical, or strongly coloured by the special controversies of the sixteenth century.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ARTICLE I.

Source: Augsburg Confession, Art. i. from which it was borrowed, apparently through the medium of the XIII. Articles of 1538 (see above, p. 61).

Object: directed against Pantheists and Anti-trinitarians (see above, p. 97, and references there).

The following is the version of this Article in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 'De Summa Trinitate,' c. 2: 'Omnes filii Dei per Jesum Christum renati, ex corde puro, conscientia bona, et fide non ficta credant et confiteantur, unum esse vivum et verum Deum æternum et incorporeum, impassibilem, immensæ potentiæ, sapientiæ et bonitatis, Creatorem et Conservatorem omnium rerum tum visibilium tum invisibilium: et in unitate ejus divinæ naturæ tres esse Personas, ejusdem essentiæ ac æternitatis, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum: Patrem vero a seipso esse, nec ab alio quoquam vel generari vel procedere; et Filium quidem a Patre generari: Spiritum Sanctum vero et a Patre et a Filio procedere: nec ullam naturæ diversitatem aut inæqualitatem in ista Personarum distinctione poni, sed quoad substantiam, vel, ut dicunt, essentiam divinam, omnia inter eos paria et æqualia esse.' Cf. Gardiner's 'xv. Articles,' § 1. (in Cardwell's *Docum. Annals*, No. xxxviii.); *Irish Articles*, §§ 8—10 (above, p. 373).

ARTICLE II.

Source: Angsb. Confess. Art. iii. from which the first draft of the English Article was mainly borrowed (see above, pp. 62, 262); while the clause respecting our Lord's eternal generation and consubstantiality was introduced in 1563, from the Württemberg Articles of 1552; see above, p. 125.

Object: directed chiefly against a docetic form of 'Anabaptism' (see above, pp. 88, 97).

In the *Reformatio Legum*, 'De Summa Trin.' c. 3, we have the following version of it: 'Credatur etiam, cum venisset plenitudo temporis, Filium qui est Verbum Patris, in utero beatæ virginis Mariæ, ex ipsius carnis substantia, naturam humanam assumpsisse, ita ut duæ naturæ, divina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate Personæ, fuerint inseparabiliter conjunctæ; ex quibus unus est Christus, verus Deus et verus homo: qui vere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferos ac tertia die resurrexit, nobisque per suum sanguinem reconciliavit Patrem, sese hostiam offerens illi, non solum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus peccatis quæ homines propria voluntate adjecerunt.'

The *Irish Articles* allude to a mysterious question respecting the mode in which the Son is derived from the Father: see § 9 (above, p. 373).

ARTICLE III.

Object: designed to quiet existing agitations (see above, pp. 97, 135, and notes, where also we discern the causes which led to the abbreviation of this Article in 1563). The longest form it had assumed occurs in the XLV. Articles of 1552, as signed by the royal chaplains, see pp. 279, 292, n. 1.

The *Assembly of Divines* in their revision made the Article run as follows: 'As Christ died for us, and was buried; so it is to be believed that he continued in the state of the dead and under the power and dominion of death, from the time of his death and burial, until his resurrection; which hath been otherwise expressed thus, *He went down into hell*.'

The view commonly received amongst Anglican Divines, was stated as follows in Nowell's *Catechismus*: 'Christum vt corpore in terræ viscera, ita, anima a corpore separata, ad inferos descendisse; simulque etiam mortis suæ virtutem, atque efficacitatem ad mortuos atque inferos adeo ipsos ita penetrasse, vt et incredulorum animæ acerbissimam instissimamque infidelitatis suæ damnationem, ipseque inferorum princeps Satanas tyrannidis suæ et tenebrarum potestatem omnem debilitatam, fractam atque ruina collapsam esse, persentiret: contra vero mortui Christo dum vixerunt fidentes, redemptionis suæ opus iam peractum esse, eiusque vim atque virtutem cum suauissima certissimaque consolatione, intelligerent atque perciperent,' p. 71, ed. Lond. 1572: see Bp. Alley's account of all the different theories, above, p. 135, n. 1.

ARTICLE IV.

Object: directed chiefly against the docetic (Schwenckfeldian) form of Anabaptism (see above, p. 97): but also in some minds connected with the true doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence (see Art. XXIX. of 1553, above, p. 330).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Summa Trin.' c. 4: 'Credatur item Dominus noster Jesus Christus, etiam post resurrectionem, duplici natura constare; divina quidem, immensa, incircumscrip̄ta, et infinita, quæ ubique sit et omnia impleat; humana vero, finita et descripta humani corporis terminis ac finibus, qua, postquam peccata nostra perpurgavisset, in ocelos ascendit, ibique ita sedet ad dexteram Patris, ut non ubique sit, quippe quem oportet in celo remanere, usque ad tempus restitutionis omnium, cum ad judicandum vivos et mortuos veniet, ut reddat cuique juxta opera sua.'

ARTICLE V.

Source: Württemberg Confession (see above, p. 125).

Object: directed, like Art. I., against Anti-trinitarians (see above, p. 126).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 6: 'Quomodo vero hæc putida membra sunt ab Ecclesiæ corpore segreganda, quæ de Christo capite tam perverse sentiunt [above, p. 81, n. 2], sic illorum etiam est execrabilis impudentia, qui cum Macedonio contra Spiritum Sanctum conspiraverunt, illum pro Deo non agnoscentes: ' cf. Art. I. of 1538, which condemns the modern 'Samosateni,' who represented the Holy Spirit as impersonal (above, p. 261).

ARTICLE VI.

Source: the clause relating to the testimony of the Church in determining what books are *canonical*, derived, in 1563, from the Württemberg Confession (above, p. 125).

Object: to condemn (1) Mediæval errors on the 'Word unwritten,' and (2) the errors of spiritualists or anti-book-religionists (above, p. 98).

After enumerating the canonical Books, of *both* the New and Old Testament, the *Reformatio Legum* proceeds, 'de Summa Trinitate,' c. 9: 'Hæc igitur generatim est sancta Scriptura, qua omnia creditu ad salutem necessaria, plene et perfecte contineri credimus, usque

adeo ut quicquid in ea non legitur, nec reperitur, nec denique ex eadem aut consequitur, aut convincitur, a nemine sit exigendum ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur.' The absolute *supremacy* of Holy Scripture is then affirmed with like emphasis (c. 10): 'Divinæ Scripturæ tanta credatur autoritas, ut nulla creaturæ cujusvis excellentiæ ipsi vel anteponenda sit vel sequenda.'

One of *The Articles of the Principal Heads of Religion*, (above, p. 118, n. 4): 'S. Scriptura in se continet omnem doctrinam pietatis; ex qua sufficienter et error omnis convinci possit et veritas stabiliri.'

of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.] This mode of ascertaining the component parts of the Canon did not satisfy the French and Belgic reformers. *E.g.* in Art. IV. of the *Gallic Confession*, (1561), it is stated: 'Nous connoissons ces livres estre canoniques, et reigle tres certaine de nostre Foy non tant par le commun accord et consentement de l'Eglise, que par le tesmoignage et intérieure persuasion du S. Esprit, qui les nous fait discerner d'avec les autres livres Ecolésiastiques[=Apocryphal]. Sur lesquels (encore qu'ils soyent utiles) on ne peut fonder aucun article de Foy.' (Niemeyer, pp. 314, 315): cf. *Confess. Belgic.* Art. v. (*Ibid.* pp. 361, 362.) The *Irish Articles*, § 2, after enumerating the books both of the New and Old Testament, acknowledges them to be given by inspiration of God, and bases their *authority* on that inspiration.

The Apocryphal books, according to the *Reformatio Legum*, c. 7, are 'libri sacri, non tamen canonici,' and 'leguntur quidem a fidelibus et in ecclesia recitantur, quod ad ædificationem plebis plurima in illis valeant, quibus tamen non tantum autoritatis tribuitur, ut fidei nostræ dogmata ex ipsis solis et separatim citra alios indubitatæ Scripturæ locos constitui, constabilirique, vel possint, vel debeant. Sunt ergo et cum judicio et sobrie isti tum audiendi tum legendi.'

The *Roman Church*, since April 8, 1546, has included the books of Tobit, Judith, Baruch, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the 1st and 2nd of Maccabees, in the Old-Testament canon, (Concil. Trident. Sess. IV.): and the same decree (which was the work of five cardinals and forty-eight bishops) after declaring that the Christian revelation is transmitted 'in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus,' orders both to be received '*patri pietatis affectu ac reverentia.*' Of this dogma, Alley speaks as follows, *Poore Mans Librarie*, i. 58: 'It is therefore a new invention and lye, invented lately in the diuels shoppe that all doctrine of religion cannot be proved out of the Scriptures, and that mens traditions, *without and besides the Scriptures*, are necessary workes to saluation:' cf. Parker's *Correspond.* p. 110 (ed. P.S.).

ARTICLE VII.

Object: directed against 'Anabaptism' (see above, p. 98, and the references there).

'Here I note onely one thing, which is [the] temeritie, ignorance and blasphemy of certaine phantastical heades, which hold y^t the prophets do write onely to the people of y^e old Testament, and that their doctrine did pertain onely to their time; and would seclude al y^e fathers y^t liued vnder y^e law from the hope of eternal saluation. And here is also a note to be gathered against them which vtterly reiect y^e old testament, as a boke nothing necessari to y^e christians which liue vnder y^e Gospel. But as I haue said before, ther is no difference betwene the Old Testament and the newe, but onely in circumstaunce and nothing in substaunce. And therefore the one is as wel to be allowed and receiued as the other.' Alley, *Poore Mans Librarie*, II. 97: cf. *Homilies*, '2nd Part of Faith,' p. 38, Camb. ed.

ARTICLE VIII.

Object: to assert the catholic and conservative character of the English Reformation (see Art I. of 1536, above, p. 43).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Summa Trin.' c. 5: 'Et quoniam omnia ferme, quæ ad fidem spectant catholicam, tum quoad beatissimam Trinitatem, tum quoad mysteria nostræ redemptionis, tribus Symbolis, hoc est, Apostolico, Niceno, et Athanasii breuiter continentur; idcirco ista tria Symbola, ut fidei nostræ compendia quædam recipimus et amplectimur, quod firmissimis diuinarum et canonicarum Scripturarum testimoniis facile probari possint.'

The Articles of the Principal Heads of Religion subjoin to a similar statement: 'Qui istis non crediderint inter veros Catholicos non sunt recipiendi.'

ARTICLE IX.

Source: It is based on Art II. of the Augsburg Confession, from which it was drawn through the medium of the XIII. Articles, above, p. 62.

Object: directed mainly against 'Anabaptism' (see above, p. 99).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 7: 'In labe peccati ex ortu nostro contracta, quam vitium originis appellamus, primum quidem Pelagianorum, deinde etiam Anabaptistarum nobis vitandus et submovendus est error, quorum in eo consensus contra veritatem sacrarum Scripturarum est, quod peccatum originis in Adamo solo hæserit, et non ad posteros transierit, nec ullam afferat naturæ nostræ perversitatem, nisi quod ex Adami delicto propositum sit peccandi noxium exemplum, quod homines ad eandem pravitatem invitat imitandum et usurpandum.'

Catechismus Brevis, 1553, (see above, p. 75): 'Quo factum est, ut statim uterque mortui sunt, hoc est, non tantum morti corporis obnoxii fuerunt, verum animi quoque vitam amiserunt, quæ est justitiæ; et protinus in illis imago offuscata est, ac lineamenta illa justitiæ, sanctitatis, veritatis et cognitionis Dei, longe pulcherrima, *confusa sunt et pene deleta*; reliqua vero fuit imago terrena cum injustitiâ conjuncta, fraude, affectione carnali, et de rebus divinis ac celestibus ignoratio summa. Inde autem nata est carnis nostræ infirmitas; inde ista corruptio et confusio affectionum et cupiditatum omnium; hinc illa pestis, hinc illud seminarium et nutrimentum peccatorum omnium, quo genus humanum inficitur, et *Peccatum Originis* appellatur.' B. vii. seqq.

very far gone from original righteousness.] The '*Assembly of Divines*' preferred the phrase '*wholly deprived of original righteousness*,' which brought the Article into harmony with some of the one-sided statements of the earlier Lutherans and the general tenour of the Calvinistic dogmas. The *Gallican Confession*, Art. ix. may be quoted as a specimen: Nous croyons que l'homme ayant esté créé pur et entier, et conforme à l'image de Dieu, est par sa propre faute descheu de sa grace qu'il avoit reçue, et ainsi s'est aliéné de Dieu, qui est la fontaine de iustice et de tous biens, en sorte que *sa nature est au tout corrompus*; et estant aveuglé en son esprit et dépravé en son cœur, a perdu toute intégrité sans en avoir rien de résidu.' (Niemeyer, p. 316).

original righteousness.] By this phrase the Schoolmen generally described the moral and spiritual condition of man anterior to the fall; some, however, making the '*donum originalis justitiæ*' no more than a superadded grace, and not a connatural quality. See Field, *On the Church*, II. 176—205; ed. E. H. S. In the view of these latter, the effect of the fall was *simply* privative, whereas the Article before us regards it as a positive, though not entire, corruption

or vitiation of Man's nature : cf. *Confess. Saxon.* Art. II. (apud Francke, App. p. 75).

concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.] According to the version of the *Assembly of Divines*, it 'is truly and properly sin,' and similarly the *Saxon Confession*, *ubi sup.* On the contrary, the council of Trent (in 1546) decreed as follows: 'Hanc concupiscentiam, quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, sancta synodus declarat, ecclesiam Catholicam numquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinat.' Sessio v. § 5. It is very remarkable that in a former passage of the same section the view is anathematized, which affirms that in the sacrament of baptism 'non tolli totum id, quod veram et propriam peccati rationem habet.' The English Article retains the phrase 'peccati rationem habere,' but drops the epithets 'veram et propriam,' and has thus occupied a sort of intermediate place between contending parties.

The following is the view of Gardiner and others of the anti-reformation school: 'Althoughe the gylte of oryginall synne be taken awaye in baptyisme, yet *the scarre of it* (as it were), *y^e matter of it doth remayne*, whiche as it troubleth and letteth man's perfection in vertue, and therby is maynteyned a continual strife and debate, so it is not to be *accompted our synne* tyll we conceyue it by embracyng and agreynge to such carnall motions.' *Declaration* (Against Joye), fol. cxxi.

Bonner, *Profitable and Necessary Doctryne*, N. ii. a, writes in the same strain: 'Albeit baptyisme be of this great efficacye, yet ye shall vnderstand, that there remayneth in vs that be baptized, a certayne infirmitie, or inclination, to synne, called concupiscence whiche by lustes and desyres doth moue vs many tymes to synnes and wickednes: neuerthelesse, almyghty God of hys greate mercy and goodnes, hath gemen vs such grace in this his holye sacrament of baptyisme, that such carnall and fleshy lustes and desyres shall not ne can in any wyse hurte vs, excepte we do first consent vnto them.'

Hooper, as we might expect, has put the question very differently: 'I believe that sin dwelleth still in man, yea in the very saints and children of God after their new birth through baptism and the Holy Ghost.' *Later Writings*, ed. P. S. p. 60.

ARTICLE X.

Source: the former clause was introduced from the Württemberg Articles, above, p. 125; the latter is almost

verbatim from St. Augustine, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, c. XVII. al. XXXIII.

Object: directed against 'Anabaptism' (see above, p. 99).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 7: 'Similiter nobis contra illos progrediendum est, qui tantum in libero arbitrio roboris et nervorum ponunt, ut eo solo sine alia speciali Christi gratia recte ab hominibus vivi posse constituent.'

Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, 'Article of Free-will:': 'And so likewise although there remain a certain freedom of will in those things which do pertain unto the desires and works of this present life [cf. Augsburg Confess. § XVIII.], yet to perform spiritual and heavenly things free-will of itself is insufficient: and therefore the power of man's free-will, being thus wounded and decayed, hath need of a physician to heal it, and an help to repair it; that it may receive light and strength, whereby it may see, and have power to do those godly and spiritual things, which before the fall of Adam it was able and might have done.' *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 360, 361.

Gardiner's *Declaration* (Against George Joye): 'All such textes of Scripture as seeme to attribute to man power and faculte of him selfe to do good, howe playnely so ever they be, I maye gather no sence or vnderstandynge of them, but suche as may agre with those textes of Scripture that shew how man of himselfe can not do any good thinge, not so muche as thynke a good thought, but it be by the speciall gyfte and grace of God. And howe playne so ever some of the textes of Scripture seme, so to considre man as to resemble him to an earthpot at the pleasure of the potter, and onely to do as he is ordeined to do by God, yet must we forbear to make any other sence, then such as may agre with other textes of Scripture, that declare mans fre choise to receiue grace when it is offred hym, or to refuse it and continue in synne.' fol. XL.

ARTICLE XI.

Source and Object: cf. Augs. Conf. Art. iv. above, p. 18; Art. v. of 1536, above, p. 46; Art. iv. of 1538, above, p. 62; Art. xi. of 1553, above p. 99, and notes; Würtemberg Confess. above, p. 125.

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 7: 'Nec illi sunt audiendi, quorum impietas salutarem et in sacris Scripturis fundatam justifi-

cationis nostræ doctrinam oppugnat, in qua tenendum est, *non operum momentis*, justitiam hominum collocari.

Catechismus Brevis: 'Quoties igitur dici solet, *sola nos fide justificari* et servari, ita dictum est quia fides, aut potius fiducia sola apprehendit, intelligit, et cognoscit nostram justificationem nobis a Deo gratis dari, hoc est, *nullis nostris meritis*, sed ex gratuita gratia Omnipotentis Patris.' D, VI.

Confessio [Augustana] *Variata*, A.D. 1540: 'Quum igitur dicimus *Fide justificamur*, non hoc intelligimus quod justi simus propter ipsius virtutis dignitatem, sed hæc est sententia: consequi nos remissionem peccatorum et imputationem justitiæ *per misericordiam propter Christum*.' Apud Francke, *Lib. Symbol.* App. p. 14: also in *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 181, Oxon. 1827.

Gardiner, *Declaration* (Against Joye): 'I euer affirmed that we be frelye iustified and frelye saued, and yet God in giuinge vs this fredome, for Christ, worketh so in ordre and so wyllth vs to obserue it, which I call the condycyon, as for wante thereof we shal eyther not atteyne fredome, or loose oure fredom when we haue atteyned it,' fol. ciiii. . . . 'And surelye al the disputacyon, in this artycle of iustification is deduced by discussion thus farre, that for all the *only* and *onely*, with so many *onlyes* which they haue added to *faythe*, to make y^e speach litigious, there now is none founde amonge lerned men; but that saye (as ye mayster Joye say) that charite is not excluded from faith in iustification, [cf. *Hom. Of Salvation*, p. 24. Camb. ed.], but that there is in the iustification of man fayth and charitie. But the newe secte (whiche ye professe), to mayntayne the aduerbe *onelye*, saye the offyce of fayth is onely to iustifie, and yet charitie is present, but is not effectuose therein,' fol. cxiii.: cf. the 6th of Gardiner's XV. *Articles*.

The following is the view taken of the doctrine by the *Council of Trent*, in 1547: 'Hæc dispositionem seu præparationem justificatio ipsa consequitur: quæ non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio, et renovatio interioris hominis [cf. Art. v. of 1536, above, p. 46.] per voluntariam susceptionem gratiæ et donorum. Unde homo ex injusto fit justus et ex inimico amicus, ut sit hæres secundum spem vitæ æternæ. Hujus justificationis causæ sunt; *finalis* quidem, gloria Dei, et Christi, ac vita æterna; *efficiens* vero, misericors Deus, qui gratuito abluit et sanctificat, signans et unguens Spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus hæreditatis nostræ: *meritoria* autem, dilectissimus unigenitus suus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus; qui, cum essemus inimici, propter nimiam charitatem qua dilexit nos, sua

sanctissima passione in ligno crucis, nobis justificationem meruit, et pro nobis Deo Patri satisfecit: *instrumentalis* item, sacramentum baptismi, quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua nulli unquam contigit justificatio. Demum unica *formalis* causa est justitia Dei, non qua ipse justus est, sed qua nos justos facit; qua videlicet ab eo donati renovamur spiritu mentis nostræ, et non modo reputamur sed vere justi nominamur et sumus, justitiam in nobis recipientes, unusquisque suam secundum mensuram, quam Spiritus Sanctus partitur singulis prout vult, et secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem et cooperationem.' Sess. VI. c. VII.

ARTICLE XII.

Source: borrowed in part from the Würtemberg Confession (see above, p. 125, and n. 7).

Object: directed against Solifidianism (see above, p. 126.)

Articles of 1538, or 1540, (see above, p. 63): 'Nam bona opera ad salutem sunt necessaria: non quod de impio justum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis; sed quia necesse est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est, et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat,' etc. (above, p. 263).

Confessio Variata, 'de Bonis Operibus,' § 2: 'Docemus etiam, quomodo hæc inchoata obedientia placeat Deo. Nam in hac tanta infirmitate et immunditie naturæ sancti non satisfaciunt legi; opus igitur est piis consolatione, ut sciant, quomodo hæc exigua et imperfecta obedientia Deo placeat. Non enim ideo placet quia legi satisfaciatur, sed quia personæ reconciliatæ et justæ sunt propter Christum et credunt sibi condonari imbecillitatem suam . . . Quamquam igitur hæc nova obedientia procul abest a perfectione legis, tamen est justitia et meretur præmia, ideo quia personæ reconciliatæ sunt.'

The *Council of Trent*, Sess. VI. c. XVI. maintains that the word 'merit' (as in the above extract from a Lutheran manifesto) may be properly applied to Christian works; and then adds the following denunciation of all those who questioned the assertion (Can. XXXII.): 'Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita, aut ipsum justificatum bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam et Jesu Christi meritum, cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt, non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in gratia decesserit,

consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum, anathema sit;’ cf. Gardiner’s *Declaration*, fol. xx., and the 7th of his XV. *Articles*.

justificatos sequuntur.] This mode of speech appears in St Augustine, *De Fide et Operibus*, c. xiv: ‘Sequuntur enim [opera bona] justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum:’ cf. *Homily of Fasting*, p. 280, Camb. ed.

ARTICLE XIII.

Object: to condemn a scholastic theory respecting merit *de congruo* (see above, p. 100, and note). The discrepancy that exists between the title ‘works before *Justification*’ and the body of the Article ‘works done before the *grace of Christ*’ is explained by referring to an early draft of the Articles of 1553 (see above, pp. 281, 304, n. 2). The old title was retained, although the wording of the Article was considerably modified (cf. the version of the *Assembly of Divines*, above, p. 215).

The inability of man to do good works without the preventing grace of God (‘sine præveniente Spiritus Sancti inspiratione atque ejus adjutorio’) was strongly affirmed at the *Council of Trent* (Sess. vi. Can. i, iii), in opposition to a party of Pelagian Schoolmen. But the doctrine that all works wrought before *justification* are truly sinful (‘vere peccata, vel odium Dei mereri’) was laid under a severe anathema (Can. vii). Gardiner, in like manner, distinguishes between ‘bona opera’ and ‘opera pœnitentiæ,’ of which the former follow justification, while the latter precede it, fol. xxxviii. He afterwards taxes his opponent with ignorance as to the true meaning of the terms ‘meritum de congruo’ and ‘meritum de condigno,’ fol. clxvi. b.

Luther, (quoted by Archbp Laurence, *Serm.* iv. p. 76): ‘Hic adversarii opponunt exemplum Cornelii . . . Cornelius, inquit, teste Luca, vir bonus, justus, timens Deum, faciens eleemosynas multas populo et deprecans Deum semper, ergo merebatur de congruo remissionem peccatorum . . . Errant igitur sophistæ, cum dicunt, pro statuendo opere congrui Cornelium operibus naturalibus rationis et moralibus consecutum esse gratiam, et remissionem Spiritus Sancti. Nam justum et timentem Dei, etc. esse, affectus sunt non hominis Gentilis aut naturalis sed spiritualis, qui jam fidem habet.’

On the moral qualities ascribable to 'the works of heathen men,' which formed a source of great perplexity to Chillingworth, when he was called upon to subscribe this Article, we have the following opinion of Bp. Woolton, *Christian Manual*, p. 43, ed. P. S: 'Albeit the works of heathen men are not to be compared with the good works of faithful men engrafted in the Church of Christ; yet for many causes, and principally for that without all controversy all good gifts and endowments, even in the paynims, are God's good gifts, they have the title and name of good works in some respects given unto them.'

ARTICLE XIV.

Object: to condemn the scholastic figment with respect to 'supererogation' (see above, p. 100, and note).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 8: 'Tum et illorum arrogantia comprimenda est, et autoritate legum domanda, qui supererogationis opera quædam importaverunt, quibus existimant non solum cumulate Dei legibus, et explete satisfieri, sed aliquid etiam in illis amplius superesse quam Dei mandata postulent, unde et sibi mereri et aliis merita applicari possint.'

ARTICLE XV.

Object: aimed, apparently, at a scholastic dogma which asserted the immaculateness of the blessed Virgin (see above, p. 100).

Joliffe (Against Hooper), fol. 165: 'Hunc articulum sanum et verum esse affirmamus; veruntamen quoties fit quæstio de peccato, Mariam virginem exceptam intelligimus.' He afterwards (fol. 166) quotes the following from Gabriel Biel, 'eruditissimus sacræ Theologiæ licentiatu'; 'Cæteri quoque sancti, etsi quidam eorum ab omni *actuali* tam mortali quam veniali peccato (sicut de Ioanne Baptista et Ieremia propheta constat) fuere liberi, *originali* tamen culpa non caruerunt, quamvis ab ea, priusquam nascerentur, sunt mundati: sola virgo Maria ita ex utroque parente fuit concepta, vt tamen ab originali peccato prærogatiua singulari sit præseruata.'

See the decision of the *Council of Trent* under the following Article.

ARTICLE XVI.

Object: to condemn a 'Novatian' form of Anabaptism (see above, pp. 88, 100). The character of the Article is further seen in the hostility which it provoked by teaching that the justified may fall from grace (see pp. 207 sq.).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 9: 'Etiam illi de justificatis perverse sentiunt, qui credunt illos, postquam justi semel facti sunt, in peccatum non posse incidere, aut si forte quicquam eorum faciunt, quæ Dei legibus prohibentur, ea Deum pro peccatis non accipere. Quibus opinione contrarii, sed impietate pares sunt, qui quodcumque peccatum mortale, quod post baptismum a nobis susceptum voluntate nostra committitur, illud omne contra Spiritum Sanctum affirmant gestum esse et remitti non posse.'

Necessary Doctrine, (in *Formul. of Faith*, p. 367): 'It is no doubt, but although we be once justified, yet we may fall therefrom by our own freewill and consenting unto sin. . . . And here all phantastical imagination, curious reasoning, and vain trust of predestination, is to be laid apart.'

Augsburg Confession, Art. XII. § 3: 'Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum. . . . Damnantur et Novatiani qui nolebant absolvere lapsos post baptismum redeuntes ad pœnitentiam:' cf. *Confess. Helvet. Poster.* 'de Pœnitentia' (in Niemeyer, p. 493).

Council of Trent, Sess. vi. Can. XXIII: 'Si quis hominem semel justificatum dixerit amplius peccare non posse, neque gratiam amittere, atque ideo eum qui labitur et peccat nunquam vere fuisse justificatum, aut contra, posse in tota vita peccata omnia etiam venialia vitare, nisi ex speciali Dei privilegio, quemadmodum de beata virgine Maria tenet ecclesia, anathema sit.'

Gardiner (Against Joye), fol. clvi.: 'I haue learned and thereafter speake, that a sinner cannot turne without the grace of God, which God dytributeth by degrees, as y^e sonne sheweth herselfe (*sic*) in the morninge, in whom there is encrease by successe tyl the sonne come to the highest at noon. Men fall sodenly doune the hyll from God, but they be drawn vp the hyll to hym by degrees.'

ARTICLE XVII.

Source: the general wording of this Article is thought to bear some resemblance to Luther's Preface to his

Comment. on the Epistle to the Romans (see Bp Short's *Hist. of the Church*, pp. 323, 324). The concluding paragraph, in which God's promises are said to be 'general' or 'universal,' is more clearly traceable to language of Melancthon (Laurence, *Bamp. Lect.* p. 179).

Object: to allay the angry disputations then prevalent on the subject of Predestination (see above, p. 100). It commends, in general terms, *one* view of predestination, while denouncing all approach to fatalistic notions.

The *Reformatio Legum*, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 22, after mentioning the practical evils which had sprung from a perversion of the doctrine of predestination, goes on to speak as follows: 'Nos vero sacris Scripturis eruditi talem in hac re doctrinam ponimus, quod diligens et accurata cogitatio de prædestinatione nostra et electione suscepta, (de quibus Dei voluntate determinatum fuit antequam mundi fundamenta jacerentur;) hæc itaque diligens et seria, quam diximus, his de rebus cogitatio, piorum hominum animos spiritu Christi afflatus et carnis et membrorum subjectionem persentiscentes, et ad cœlestia sursum tendentes, dulcissima quadam et jucundissima consolatione permulcet, quoniam fidem nostram de perpetua salute per Christum ad nos perventura confirmat, vehementissimas charitatis in Deum flammæ accendit, mirabiliter ad gratias agendas exsuscitat, ad bona nos opera propinquissime adducit, et a peccatis longissime abducit, quoniam a Deo sumus electi, et filii ejus instituti. Quæ singularis et eximia conditio summam a nobis salubritatem morum, et excellentissimam virtutis perfectionem requirit: denique nobis arrogantiam minuit, ne viribus nostris geri credamus, quæ gratuita Dei beneficentia et infinita bonitate indulgentur. Præterea neminem ex hoc loco purgationem censem vitiorum suorum afferre posse; quia Deus nihil ulla in re injuste constituit, nec ad peccata voluntates nostras unquam invitas trudit. Quapropter omnes nobis admonendi sunt, ut in actionibus suscipiendis ad decreta prædestinationis se non referant, sed universam vitæ suæ rationem ad Dei leges accommodent; cum et promissiones bonis, et minas malis, in sacris Scripturis *generaliter propositas* contemplantur. Debemus enim ad Dei cultum viis illis ingredi, et in illa Dei voluntate commorari, quam in sacris Scripturis patefactam esse videmus.'

On the phrase '*generaliter propositæ*' as equivalent to '*universaliter propositæ*,' see above, p. 166.

Gardiner (Against Joye), fol. xxxix: 'I acknowledge God's pre-

destination as whereof I am most certeynly assured by scripture, and also confesse the textes of scripture by me rehersed to conteyne a most certeine truth and ought therefore to be worshypped and reuerenced. And am sory to se the high mysterye of Goddes predestinacion and the scriptures lykewise to be abused vnsemely by noughtye men, to suche ende and effecte as the Grekes and infidels vsed the false opinion of destynye.' . . . Again (fol. lii) : 'For and their opinion were true, there neded no preachynge, prayer, ministracion of sacramentes or any memory or remembraunce of Christ, but as the Turkes do, ones in a weke tell the people out of the stepyll, ye that are predestinate, shal be of necessitie saued, ye that are not predestinate, shal be of necessitie dampned.' Again, (fol. lxxiii) : 'The true teachynge of Christes churche abhoreth necessitie, and yet worshyppeth for moost certayne trutthes Goddes prouidence, election, and predestinacion, whereby we be taughte that God is auctor of al our helth, welth and saluacion, the circumstaunce of which workyng in God in his election and predestinacion, althoughe it be as impossible for mans wit to frame with our choyse and free wyll, as to deuise howe a camell shulde passe through the eye of an nedle without makyng the nedles eye bygger or the camell lesse ; yet that is impossible for man, is not impossible for God.' He then goes into a long argument with the hope of dispelling some portion of the mystery in which this question is enveloped, 'by distincting Goddes knowledge from His election as the cause from the effect.'

Prologe vpon the epistle to the Romayns (May 23, 1551) : 'But now is God sure that his predestinacion cannot deceyue hym, neyther can any man withstand or let him : and therfore haue we hope and trust agaynst synne. But here muste a marke be set vnto those *vnquyet, busy and hygh clymyng spyrytes*, how farre they shal go : whych fyrst of al brynge hyther theyr hygh reasons and pregaunte wyttes, and begyn fyrst from an hyghe, to searcho the bottomles secretes of Gods predestinacyon, whether they be predestinat or not. These must nedes either cast *themselues doune headlonge into desperacyon, or els commytte themselues to fre chaunce careles.*'

The opinions of all the leading English reformers of this country on the question of Divine decrees have been collected several times, and shewn to be unfavourable to the strictly 'Calvinistic' hypothesis : e. g. in Winchester's *Dissertation on the XVIIth Article*, Laurence's *Authentic Documents relating to the Predestinarian Controversy*, and Bampton Lectures, pp. 383 seqq. See also Dean Kipling's pamphlet entitled *The Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calvinistic*, 2nd ed. Camb. 1802.

Calvin's doctrine is thus stated by himself in the *Institutio*, Lib. III. c. 21, § 5, and is elsewhere intensified: 'Prædestinationem vocamus æternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes; sed aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna præordinatur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem prædestinatum dicimus.'

The dogma of reprobation, respecting which the English Article is altogether silent, was by *Calvin* regarded as an essential part of his theological system: 'Multi quidem ac si invidiam a Deo repellere vellent, electionem ita fatentur ut negent quenquam reprobari; sed inseite nimis et pueriliter, quando ipsa electio nisi reprobationi opposita non staret. Dicitur segregare Deus quos adoptet in salutem; fortuito alios adipisci, vel sua industria acquirere, quod sola electio paucis confert, plusquam insulse dicitur. Quos ergo Deus præterit reprobet, neque alia de causa nisi quod ab hæreditate quam filiis suis prædestinat, illos vult excludere.' *Instit.* Lib. III. c. 23, § 1.

The general doctrine of the *Lutherans* was strongly opposed to the Calvinistic, as will be seen in the following extract from the *Formula Concordiæ* (Libr. Symbol. ed. Francke, Part III. p. 67): 'Rejicimus itaque omnes, quos jam enumerabimus, errores. (1) Quod Deus nolit, ut omnes homines pœnitentiam agant et evangelio credant. (2) Quando Deus nos ad se vocat, quod non serio hoc vult, ut omnes homines ad ipsum veniant. (3) Quod nolit Deus, ut omnes salventur, sed quod quidam non ratione peccatorum suorum, verum solo Dei consilio, proposito, et voluntate, ad exitium destinati sint, ut prorsus salutem consequi non possint. (4) Quod non sola Dei misericordia et sanctissimum Christi meritum, sed etiam in nobis ipsis aliqua causa sit electionis divinæ, cujus causæ ratione Deus nos ad vitam æternam elegerit. Hæc dogmata omnia falsa sunt, horrenda et blasphema, iisque piis mentibus omnis prorsus consolatio eripitur, quam ex evangelio et sacramentorum usu capere deberent, et idcirco in ecclesia Dei nequaquam sunt ferenda.'

The *Council of Trent*, as being much divided on this subject, was induced to promulgate no more than the following decree (Sess. vi. c. xii): 'Nemo quoque, quamdiu in hac mortalitate vivitur, de arcano divinæ prædestinationis mysterio usque adeo præsumere debet, ut certo statuatur se omnino esse in numero prædestinatorum: quasi verum esset quod justificatus aut amplius peccare non possit, aut si peccaverit certam sibi resipiscentiam promittere debeat, nam nisi ex speciali revelatione scire non potest, quos Deus sibi elegerit.'

ARTICLE XVIII.

Object: to condemn a 'philosophical theory of Anabaptism' (see above, p. 101).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 11: 'Horribilis est et immanis illorum audacia, qui contendunt in omni religione vel secta, quam homines professi fuerint, salutem illis esse sperandam [cf. the title of the *Latin Article*], si tantum ad innocentiam et integritatem vitæ pro viribus enitantur juxta lumen, quod illis præluet a natura infusum. Autoritate vero sacrarum literarum confixæ sunt hujusmodi pestes. Solum enim et unicum ibi Jesu Christi nomen nobis commendatum est, ut omnis ex eo salus ad nos perveniat.'

Melancthon (quoted by Laurence, p. 301): 'Usitata et falsa distinctio est, tres esse leges, naturalem, Mosaicam, et Evangelicam. Et magis impium est, quod affingunt, *singulos propter suæ legis observationem consecutos esse remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam.*'

Scotch Confession (1560) in *Knox's Works* (II. 108, ed. Laing): 'And thairfor we utterlie abhor the blasphemye of those that affirm, that men quihilk live according to equitie and justice, shall be saved, what religioun soever they have professed.'

A curious parallel is found in Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccl.* ad an. 1326, § 31, where Andreas de Perusio, a Franciscan, is speaking of the prospects of the Church in the dominions of the Great Khans and especially in China: 'In isto vasto imperio sunt gentes de omni natione quæ sub cælo est, et de omni secta, et conceditur omnibus et singulis vivere secundum sectam suam. *Est enim hæc opinio apud eos, seu potius error, quod unusquisque in sua secta salvatur.*'

ARTICLE XIX.

Source and Object: see above, p. 101 and n. 4; cf. Augsburg Conf. Art. VII. p. 19; Art. V. of 1538, p. 62; Art. III. of 1559, p. 119.

In the *Articles of Principal Heads of Religion* (see above p. 118, n. 4), we have the following definition: 'Ecclesia Christi est in qua purum Dei Verbum prædicatur et sacramenta juxta Christi ordinationem administrantur, et in qua clavium autoritas retinetur:' cf. *Homilies*, p. 465 (Camb. ed.), and *Ridley's Works*, p. 123, for the same 'three notes or marks.' There is, however, no allusion to the 'power of the keys' in *Reform. Legum*, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 21; nor in Hooper's *Article* (above p. 316, n. 4), although he has amplified the definition

so as to make it favour his extreme opinions. From his *Later Writings*, p. 41, we learn that he also held peculiar views respecting the 'visible' and 'invisible' Church.

Alley, Poore Mans Librarie, i. 195 b; 'It (the Church) hath alwayes thre notes or markes whereby it is knowne. The first note is pure and sound doctrine. The second note are the sacraments ministred according to Christes holy institution. The third note is the right vse of ecclesiasticall discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also to the doctrine of the auncient Fathers, so that none may iustly find fault therwith : ' cf. *Confessio Belgic.* Art. xxix. apud Niemeyer, p. 380.

Joliffe (Against Hooper), fol. 90: 'Diffinitio ista ecclesie manca et mutila est. Nam ecclesia Christi catholica est congregatio fidelium omnium quæ unica est professione fidei, doctrinæ, et administratione sacramentorum, ac catholicæ religionis, cum legitima et continua successione vicariorum Christi.'

The second portion of the Article finds the following parallel in the *Reformatio Legum*, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 21: 'Etiam illorum insania legum vitulis est constringenda, qui Romanam ecclesiam in hujusmodi petra fundatam esse existimant, ut nec erraverit, nec errare possit; cum et multi possint ejus errores ex superiore majorum memoria repeti, et etiam ex hac nostra proferri, partim in his quibus vita nostra debet informari, partim etiam in his quibus fides debet institui.'

ARTICLE XX.

Source: the controverted clause (respecting which, see above, p. 141 sq.) has a parallel in the Württemberg Confession, p. 126, n. 1.

Object: to repress extravagant notions of Church-authority (see above, pp. 101, 102), and also to discountenance the waywardness of 'Anabaptism.'

Alley, Poore Mans Librarie, i. 87: 'Of the Word the Church hath her authoritie and by it onely ought to pronounce and geue sentence of all controuersies.' . . . Again, 88, b: 'By this it evidently appeareth that it was then the iudgement of the Church to geue sentence in all controuersies out of the Scriptures, and to refuse (? refute) those, which wrested obscure and darcke places to confirme their wicked doctrine, by other manifest and playne places of the Scripture. . . .

Therefore it may be concluded that they which attribute unto the Church and to the Fathers authoritie to ordeine any thyng without the Scripture, and to define of controversies of religion without the Word, do offer great iniurie and wrong to the primitiue Churches.'

Confessio (Augustana) Variata, Art. xxii.: 'Hæc est usitata et legitima via in Ecclesia dirimendi dissensiones, videlicet ad synodos referre controversias ecclesiasticas.'

Bucer, Scripta duo Adversaria, p. 249, Argentor. 1544: 'Interpretem Scripturæ Ecclesiam agnoscimus, et plerasque res in Scripturis non expressas ab ea definiri fatemur. Sed id simul affirmamus, oportere Ecclesiam sequi in utroque Scripturarum autoritatem.'

ARTICLE XXI.

Object: see above, p. 102.

The *Reformatio Legum*, 'de Summa Trinitate,' c. 14, after stating that we pay the greatest deference to the œcumenical councils ('ingentem honorem libenter deferimus') proceeds in the following manner: 'Quibus tamen non aliter fidem nostram obligandam esse censemus, nisi quatenus ex Scripturis sanctis confirmari possint. Nam concilia nonnulla interdum errasse, et contraria inter sese definivisse, partim in actionibus juris, partim etiam in fide, manifestum est.'

Alley, ubi sup. i. 199, b: 'The old and auncient synodes are to be embraced gladly, and must be taken, as touching the opinions of faith, for holy counsels, as the counsels of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus the first, of Calcidon and such like, which were assembled for the confuting of errours. For they doo contain nothing, but the pure and natiue interpretacion of the Scriptures, which the holye Fathers applyed to dashe downe and ouerthrow the enemies of true religion. In the latter [i. e. later] counsels the Church did degenerate from the purity of that golden worlde, yet notwithstanding those counsels had some Bishops that were knownen to bee better than the rest:' cf. Parker's *Corresp.* p. 110, ed. P. S.

By *Stat. i. Eliz. c. 1*, it is determined that nothing shall henceforth be accounted heresy but what has been so adjudged 'by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils or any of them, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said Canonical Scriptures,' etc.

ARTICLE XXII.

Object: to condemn scholastic and Tridentine errors (see above, p. 82, and n. 3; p. 102, and n. 2; p. 127).

Romish doctrine] In the *Heads of Doctrine*, 1559, the phrase 'doctrina Scholasticorum,' was still retained. The words 'Romanenses' and 'Romanistæ' were already used as far back as 1520 by Luther and Ulrich von Hutten, to designate the extreme Mediæval party. In like manner, Hooper employs 'Romanistæ,' and Alley 'Romish.' Cranmer, also, in his *Answer to Gardiner*, III. 516, has the phrase, 'your new Romish errors.'

Purgatory.] The decree of the *Council of Trent*, on this and other points embraced in the present Article, is dated Dec. 4, 1563, and was not therefore directly intended by the Reformers; but the general teaching of the Western Church, for some time anterior to the Reformation, had been propagating the same errors in a less guarded form. The way in which they were defended by *Joliffe* and his friend, while commenting on this Article, may be seen in their work against Hooper, fol. 90—115.

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 10: 'Verum sacræ Scripturæ solam Christi mortem nobis ad delictorum purgationem reservant, nec ullum ponunt aliud sacrificium quod ad hanc rem valere possit, imo de purgatorio sane ipsorum ne una quidem syllaba sacris in Scripturis invenitur:' cf. Art. x. of 1536.

The doctrine here contemplated is expressed as follows in the *Articles* sent by Gardiner to the University of Cambridge in 1555, (above, p. 113): 'Credimus post hanc vitam esse purgatorium in quo animæ defunctorum purgantur, pœnaque adhuc peccatis debita exsolvitur: sanctorumque et salubre esse pro defunctis exorare, nostrasque preces, elemosynas, jejunia, et opera alia pia, maxime autem altaris sacrificium, illis multum prodesse persuasissimum habemus.' *Cardwell's Doc. An.* I. 197 (No. XXXVIII).

Respecting *Relicks and Images*, he speaks as follows: 'Reliquias martyrum, et loca in eorum honorem consecrata, pie et religiose a Christianis venerari, et invisi posse affirmamus; imaginum quoque usum ferendum et hominibus fructuosum esse fatemur.' *Ibid.* p. 196.

Respecting *Invocation of Saints*: 'Sanctos cum Christo agentes nos pie posse et debere venerari, eosdemque invocare, ut pro nobis orent, atque nostras preces et vota ab illis percipi, et eorum nos precibus juvari confitemur et agnoscimus.' *Ibid.* p. 196.

Pardons.] The following illustration is from the chief of the anti-reformation party: 'Amonges other thynges [I] noted the deuylls craft, what shifte he vseth to deceyue man whose felicitie he enuieth, and therefore couseth to hane man idle and voyde of good workes, and to be ledde in that idelnes, with a wanne hope to liue merely and at his pleasure here, and yet haue heuen at y^e last: And for that purpose procured oute *pardons from Rome*, wherein heauen was sold for a litle money, and for to retayle that marchaundise, the denyll vsed freres for his ministers: nowe they be gone with all theyr tromperye, but the denyll is not yet gone.' Gardiner, *Against Joye*, fol. ix.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Source: Augsburg Conf. Art. xiv. (see above, p. 20).

Object: directed against Anabaptism (see above, p. 102, Art. x. of 1538, and Art. iv. of 1559).

Reformatio Legum, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 16: 'Similis est illorum amentia, qui institutionem ministrorum ab Ecclesia disjungunt, negantes in certis locis certos doctores, pastores atque ministros collocari debere; nec admittunt legitimas vocationes, nec solemnem manuum impositionem, sed per omnes publice docendi potestatem divulgant, qui sacris literis utcumque sunt aspersi et Spiritum sibi vendicant; nec illos solum adhibent ad docendum, sed etiam ad moderandam Ecclesiam et distribuenda sacramenta; quæ sane universa cum scriptis Apostolorum manifeste pugnant.'

Heads of Religion: 'Absque externa et legitima vocatione non licet cuiquam sese ingerere in aliquod ministerium ecclesiasticum vel sæculare.'

ARTICLE XXIV.

Object: see above, pp. 102, 128.

Heads of Religion: 'Præceptum Dei est, ut quæ leguntur in ecclesia, illa lingua proferantur quæ ab ecclesia intelligatur.'

ARTICLE XXV.

Source: first clause derived from Art. ix. of 1538, (see above, pp. 63, 270).

Object: (1) to protest against the 'Anabaptist' depreciation of sacraments, (2) to limit the number of 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' (3) to insist on the necessity of right conditions in the recipient (see above, p. 102, and p. 130, n. 2).

The *Reformatio Legum*, ('de Hæres.' c. 17) after condemning the error of those who spoke of the sacraments as 'inania et vacua' (quoted above, p. 103, n. 1), proceeds as follows: 'Quæ cum inter nos disperiuntur, vi divini Spiritus fides confirmatur, erigitur conscientia, promissio etiam veniæ peccatorum per Christum facta intrinsicè exhibetur, extrinsecus vero istis sacramentis quasi sigillo quodam consignatur. Præterea verbo Dei quod intercedit, et symbolorum adhibitorum naturis erudiuntur fideles de pretio nostræ redemptionis per Christum comparatæ, Spiritus sanctus et gratia in mentibus fidelium uberius instillatur, tum etiam fœdus quod per Christum inter Deum et nos ictum est corroboratur, ut nobis ille proprius sit Deus, nos illi peculiaris populus, et astringimus nos ipsos ad peccatorum abolitionem et integritatem vitæ suscipiendam. Quæ si recte ponderentur, necesse est ut obmutescat illorum calumnia, qui sacramentorum inopem volunt, et nudam naturam relinquere.' Cf. *Confessio Scoticana* I. A.D. 1568 (apud Niemeyer, pp. 352, 353), and Hooper, at great length, in *Orig. Letters*, p. 47.

The following extract from Archbp. Hermann's *Consultation*, t. viii. Lond. 1547, throws further light on the wording of this controverted Article: 'They [i. e. the Anabaptists] auoyded the common sermons of the churche and holie assembles of the people of Christe: they withdrawe from the sacramentes, which they wil to be nothing els than outward sygnes of our profession and felowship, as the badges of capitaines be in warre; thei deni that they be workes and ceremonies instituted of God for this purpose, that in them we shulde acknowledge, embrace and receyue thorough fayth the mercie of God and the merite and communion of Christ, and that God worketh by these signes and exhibiteth vnto vs the gyftes in dede, which he offereth wyth these signes.'

Heads of Religion: 'Christus tantum duo sacramenta expresse nobis commendat, Baptisma et Eucharistiam: quibus confertur gratia rite sumentibus, etiamsi malus sit minister; et non prosunt indigne suscipientibus quantumvis bonus sit minister.'

On the phrase 'conferre gratiam' and the controversy respecting it, see above, pp. 92 sq.

Guest (of Rochester) in his *Treatise againste the preves Masse* (Life by Dugdale, Lond. 1840, p. 84): 'He nameth the consecrate bread hys bodye, for y^t it is resembled and presented therby; baptisme is named the founteyn of our agayn byrth and the renninge of the holy ghost, yet it is nether our newe byrth, nether the rennyng of the holi ghost, ne changed into them, but so called for y^t thereby the

said byrth and rening be not only represented *but also wraughte, presented and contributed unto us.*'

The *Swiss* doctrine is thus stated in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, A.D. 1549, c. VII. : 'Sunt quidem et hi sacramentorum fines, ut notæ sint ac tesseræ Christianæ professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitamenta et exercitia fidei ac piæ vitæ, denique syngraphæ ad id obligantes. Sed hic unus inter alios præcipuus, ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, repræsentet atque obsignet. Nam etsi nihil aliud significant, quam quod verbo ipso annunciat, hoc tamen magnum est, subjici oculis nostris quasi vivas imagines, quæ sensus nostros melius afficiant, quasi in rem ducendo; dum nobis Christi mortem omniaque ejus beneficia in memoriam revocant, ut fides magis exerceatur; deinde quod ore Dei renunciatum erat, quasi sigillis confirmari et sanciri.' The *Reformed*, as distinguished from the *Lutherans*, had always confined themselves to this *obsignatory* view of the sacraments, denying that they could properly be said to *work* or to *confer* grace: cf. *ubi sup.* c. XVII., and still more strongly in Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio*, apud Niemeyer, p. 24, and in the *Consensionis Caputum Explicatio*, p. 209, ed. Niemeyer. The idea that a sacrament ever acts 'instar canalıs,' is denounced as 'plane insipida superstitio.'

efficacia signa.] The following additional illustration (cf. above, p. 93) is from Dr. Ward, one of the delegates at the Synod of Dort: 'Sacramenta ista, quæ signa *efficacia* appellat Articulos noster xxv., conferre gratiam dicimus.' *Opera Nonnulla*, p. 44, ed. S. Ward, Lond. 1658; cf. *Ussher's Works*, xv. 506, 510, ed. Elrington.

Jolife (Against Hooper), fol. 174: 'Sacramenta Christi ecclesiæ non sunt tantum notæ professionis Christianæ, nec tantum signa efficacia gratiæ, sed etiam gratiam illam, quam significant, virtute passionis et institutionis Christi, conferunt his qui non ponunt obicem. [This phrase is found in St Augustine, Ep. xxiii. who employs it with regard to infants, Ward, *ubi sup.* p. 45.] . . . Sacramentum novæ legis proprie dicitur, quod ita signum est gratiæ Dei et invisibilis gratiæ forma, vt ipsius imaginem gerat, et causa existat;' cf. Gardiner's 3rd *Article*.

sacraments were not . . . to be gazed upon or to be carried about.] It has been contended that the word 'sacraments' here relates only to the Eucharist, and is equivalent to 'sacramental elements:' see Mr. Britton's *Horæ Sacramentales*, pp. 96 sq.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Source: included in Art. v. of 1538 (above pp. 62, 265).

Object: directed against 'Anabaptism' (see p. 103, and n. 2).

Consensus Tigurinus (Niemeyer, p. 210): 'De ministris hic non agitur, de quibus stulte olim dubitatum est, an eorum perfidia vel alia quævis indignitas sacramenta vitiet. Nobis autem sanctorum est Dei institutio, quam ut ejus vis ab hominibus pendeat.'

Hermann's *Simple and religious Consultation*, sign. O, v, b, Lond 1547: 'For the Lorde maketh those things which he hym selfe hath ordeined in his churche to be effectuous vnto the health of his, though the ministers be neuer so vnworthy, and he requireth that the fayeth of his people be grounded vpon his worde, and not vpon the worthinesse of the ministers.'

On the other hand the *Council of Trent* declared, A.D. 1547, Sess. VII. 'De sacramentis,' can. xi.: 'Si quis dixerit in ministris dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, anathema sit.'

ARTICLE XXVII.

Source and Object: see Art. II. of 1536, p. 44; Art. VI. of 1538, p. 62; Art. XXVIII. of 1553, p. 103. For the strengthening of the language of the Edwardine Article respecting infants, see p. 128.

whereby, as by an instrument.] 'Bucerus in *Retract in Matth.* agnoscit sacramenta recte dici *instrumenta*, organa et canales *gratiæ*.' Ward, *ubi sup.* p. 53.

'Insuper ibi etiam *quasi instrumento quodam* operatur et perficit plenam nostri innovationem.' *Liturgia Argentina*, fol. 19: (translated into Latin by Valerandus Pollanus) date, Feb. 19, 1551 [*i. e.* 1552].

'Diverse good holy doctours haue taught as I sai by such places of Scripture, that God in the working of such clensing of the soule and infusion of grace, useth the sacramentes not as a *bare signe*, but as an *instrument* with whiche and by whiche it pleaseth hym to worke them.' *Sir Thomas More* (against Tindale), *Works*, I. 386.

'This sacrament [*i. e.* the Eucharist] hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because *grace is given by it*, as by an *instrument*; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine.' *Ridley*, Disputation at Oxford: *Works*, ed. P. S. p. 241.

‘Also is die tawf ain *jnstrument*, oder handhab und mittel, dadurch der getauft, als ain glid Christi, erraicht das Krewtz, etc.’ *Berthold*, (bisch. von Chiemsee), *Teutsche Theology* (first published in 1528), München, 1852, p. 428.

‘All these graces almighty God worketh by baptisme as by a peculiar *instrument* for that purpose in the hartes of all infants that by the church and in the faith of the church [*Gardiner* adds, fol. clix. b, and of their parentes] be offered to God and baptised, wher nothing of the infantes party doth stop the grace of the sacrament. But if he that is baptised be of age and discretion hauing the use of his reason, it is required necessarily of him before baptisme to haue faith and repentance of his noughty living.’ *Holsome and catholyke Doctryne* (Sermons by Thomas Watson, intruding bishop of Lincoln, 1557), fol. xii.

‘Sunt enim sacramenta signa ac symbola visibilia rerum internarum et invisibilium, per quæ, *ceu per media*, Deus ipse virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis operatur.’ *Confess. Belgica*, Art xxxiii.

The baptism of young children.] The *Reformatio Legum*, ‘de Hæresibus,’ c. 18, speaks as follows: ‘Deinde crudelis illorum impietas in baptismum irruit, quem infantibus impartiri nolunt, sed omnino nulla ratione. Nec enim minus ad Deum et ecclesiam pertinent Christianorum infantes, quam liberi quondam Hebræorum pertinebant, quibus in infantia cum circumcisio adhiberetur, nostris etiam infantibus debet baptismus admoveri, quoniam ejusdem promissionis et fœderis divini participes sunt, et a Christo sunt etiam summa cum humanitate suscepti.’

‘The baptism of infants hath its beginning from God’s Word and from the use of the primitive Church. The Catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptised, as whom God acknowledgeth for His people and voucheth them worthy of sanctification, or remission of their sins.’ *Philpot, Works*, p. 274. ed. P. S.

‘Because they admitte not original sinne, they [the Anabaptists] also refuse the baptisme of chyldren, and in as muche as in them lyeth, they drawe awaye the moste parte of men from God, and eternal saluation.’ *Hermann’s Consultation*, t. vii. Lond. 1547; cf. sign. v. ii.

The *Lutheran*, as opposed to the Calvinistic view of *infant* baptism, is forcibly stated in a series of *Articuli Visitatorii* (Francke, App. p. 119), where they condemn what they describe as the ‘falsa et erronea doctrina Calvinistarum.’

The propositions thus selected for especial censure are the following:

(1) 'Baptismum esse externum lavacrum aquæ, per quod interna quædam ablutio a peccatis tantum significatur.

(2) 'Baptismum non operari neque conferre regenerationem, fidem, gratiam et salutem, sed tantum significare et obsignare ista.

(3) 'Non omnes, qui aqua baptizantur, consequi eo ipso gratiam aut donum fidei, sed tantum electos.

(4) 'Regenerationem non fieri in vel cum baptismo, sed postea demum crescente ætate, imo et multis in senectute demum contingere.

(5) 'Salutem non dependere a baptismo, atque ideo baptismum in causa necessitatis non permittendum esse in ecclesia, sed in defectu ordinarii ministri ecclesiæ permittendum esse, ut infans sine baptismo moriatur.

(6) 'Christianorum infantes jam ante baptismum esse sanctos ab utero matris, imo adhuc in utero materno constitutos esse in federe vitæ æternæ, ceteroqui sacrum baptismum ipsis conferri non posse.'

This limitation of baptism to the children of the faithful constantly appears in 'Swiss' or 'Calvinistic' Confessions, e.g. *Zwinglii* 'de Sacramentis,' apud Niemeyer, p. 25; *Gallie*. Art. xxxv.; *Belgic*. xxxiv. 'He secludeth the children of excommunicate persons and of professed papistes from the sacrament of baptisme, vntill they be able to make a confession of their fayth; which smelleth very strongely of Anabaptisme, and is a manifest error.' Whitgift's 'Table of the dangerous doctrines avouched by T. C.' prefixed to *The Defense*, ed. 1574: cf. *Zurich Letters*, I. 292, 296; II. 243: Hales, *Letters from the Synod of Dort*, p. 22.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Source and Object. On some of the important points involved in the additions and suppressions of 1563, see pp. 128, 136.

[Transubstantiation.] The *Reformatio Legum*, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 19: 'Obrepsit etiam in eucharistia periculosissimus error eorum qui docent, concionantur et contendunt, virtute certorum verborum quæ minister ad symbola hujus sacramenti insurrat, panem converti vel (ut ipsi loquuntur) transubstantiari in Christi corpus, et itidem vinum in sanguinem. Quod sane dogma quoniam sacris literis adversatur, a natura sacramenti disorepat et verum Christi corpus ita depravat, ut vel divinam in illud inducat naturam omnibus locis

diffusam [cf. the paragraph of 1552, which was afterwards suppressed], vel ex eo spectrum aut machinam quandam commiscatur, totum hoc papisticæ fæcis somnium auferri volumus, et naturam veram panis et vini in eucharistia remanentem plane agnoscere, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus apertis verbis attestatur. Itaque nec in altum tolli sacramentum hoc, nec circumferri per agros patimur, nec conservari in crastinum, nec adorari; denique nullam relinquimus majorem eucharistiæ venerationem quam baptismi et Verbi Dei.'

Heads of Religion, A.D. 1559: 'Cœna Dominica non est tantum symbolum mutue benevolentie Christianorum inter se, sed magis symbolum est nostre redemptionis per Christi mortem et nostre conjunctionis cum Christo. Ubi fidelibus vere datur et exhibetur, communicio corporis et sanguinis Domini....Scholastica Transubstantiatio panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi probari non potest ex sacris literis.'

ARTICLE XXIX.

First published in 1571. On its suppression till that period, see above, pp. 126; 137, n. 2; 141, and n. 2; 142; 151.

ARTICLE XXX.

Source: added in 1563 (see p. 126): cf. Art. X. of 1559, p. 358.

Gardiner, *Sermon* in 1548 (quoted by Mr. Haweis, *Sketches*, p. 43): 'Where I said of the mass that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion . . . the Parliament [*alluding to* 1 Edw. VI. c. 1] very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the Parliament for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received *in both kinds*: cf. the 8th of Gardiner's xv. Articles.

Council of Trent, July 16, 1562, Sess. xxi. can. i.: 'Si quis dixerit ex Dei præcepto vel necessitate salutis omnes et singulos Christi fideles utramque speciem sanctissimi eucharistiæ sacramenti sumere debere, anathema sit.'

ARTICLE XXXI.

Source: based on Augsburg Conf. Part II. Art. III. § 10; above, pp. 22, 23; p. 104.

Bullinger (*Decad.* p. 17, published 1550): 'Itaque relinquitur jam indubitatum Christum Dominum plenariam esse propitiationem, satisfactionem, hostiamque, ac victimam pro peccatis (pro pœna, inquam, et pro culpa) totius mundi, et quidem solam. Non est enim in alio quoquam salus.'

Cranmer, (*Answer to Gardiner*, A.D. 1551): 'This is the honour and glory of our High Priest wherein He admitteth neither partner nor successor. For by His own oblation He satisfied the Father for all men's sins, and reconciled mankind into His grace and favour. . . . And as He dying once was offered for all, so as much as pertained to Him, He took all men's sins unto Himself.' See other passages asserting the *universality* of Christ's satisfaction, in *Laurence, Bampton Lect.* pp. 299, 300.

The sacrifices of masses.] The *Reformatio Legum*, 'de Hæresibus,' c. 10: 'Quorundam nimis est curiosa perversitas, qui veniam quidem peccatorum expectant, sed hanc morte Christi per solam fidem ad nos accommodatam plene non credunt et omnibus partibus impleri. Quapropter alia conquirunt sacrificia, quibus perpurgari possint, ed ad hanc rem missas exhibent in quibus sacrificium Deo Patri credunt oblatum esse, nimirum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vere, quomodoque illi dicunt, realiter, ad veniam peccatorum impetrandam et salutem tam mortuorum quam vivorum procurandam; quibus etiam regnum tam latum dant ut illis aliquando minui, nonnunquam omnino tolli purgatorii tormenta statuunt:' cf. the 9th of the *Eleven Articles*, above, p. 358.

Joliffe (*Against Hooper*), fol. 189: 'Quod ad missas attinet recte eam dici arbitror repetitam commemorationem passionis et mortis Christi, in qua ille se obtulit pro peccatis totius mundi.'

ARTICLE XXXII.

Source and Object: see above, p. 104; and for the change this Article underwent in 1563, p. 128.

Heads of Religion: 'Celibatus nulli hominum statui præcipitur, neque injungitur ministris ecclesiæ ex verbo Dei.'

Joliffe (Against Hooper), fol. 189 b: 'His qui non voverunt non est mandatum, neque enim pugnant Ordo et Matrimonium : cæterum iis qui se voto astrinxerunt, dicit Scriptura, Redde vota.'

ARTICLE XXXIII.

(See above, p. 104.)

Nowell, Catechismus, (p. 157. ed. 1572): 'In ecclesiis bene institutis atque moratis, certa, ut antea dixi, ratio atque ordo gubernationis instituebatur atque observabatur. Deligebantur seniores, id est, magistratus ecclesiastici, qui disciplinam ecclesiasticam tenerent atque colerent. Ad eos autoritas, animadversio, atque castigatio censoria pertinebant: hii, adhibito etiam pastore, si quos esse cognoverant qui vel opinionibus falsis, vel turbulentis erroribus, vel anilibus superstitionibus vel vita vitiosa flagitiosaque magnam publice offensionem ecclesie Dei adferrent, quique sine cœnæ Dominicæ profanatione accedere non possent, eos a communione repellebant atque rejiciebant, neque rursus admittebant, donec poenitentia publica ecclesie satisfacisset.'

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Source: Art. v. of 1538.

Object: see p. 104, and for its modifications in 1563, pp. 127, 138: cf. Art. III. of 1559, p. 357.

Heads of Doctrine: 'Quævis ecclesia particularis auctoritatem instituendi, mutandi et abrogandi ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos habet, modo ad decorem, ordinem et ædificationem fiat.'

Traditions of the Church.] 'Colligimus hinc ecclesiasticorum (quos vocant) *traditiones* et leges, quibus fastum, divitias, honores, titulos legesque suas fulciunt et defendunt, causam esse omnis insanie; nam capiti Christo non consonant.' *Zwinglii Articuli*, § XI: Niemeyer, p. 5.

ARTICLES XXXV, XXXVI.

Respecting the indignation which these Articles excited among the Puritans, see above, p. 205 sq. The object of the second clause in Art. XXXVI. has been explained already, p. 128, n. 4.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Object : see above, p. 104 ; and for its modification in 1563, p. 127, and note.

Heads of Doctrine : ‘ Elizabetha regina Angliæ est unicus et supremus Gubernator hujus regni et omnium dominiorum et regionum suarum quarumcunque tam in rebus et causis ecclesiasticis quam temporalibus... Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno, nec alia quæcunque potestas extranea.’

Gardiner, Sermon in 1548, as above ; ‘ It is a marvellous thing that upon these words the Bishop of Rome should found his supremacy ; for whether it be *super petram* or *Petrum*, all is one matter ; it maketh nothing at all for the purpose to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise when Peter spake carnally to Christ (as in the same chapter a little following,) Satan was his name, where Christ said, “ Go after me, Satan ; ” so that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy, but as it is said in Scripture, *Fundati estis super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum*, that is, by participation (for godly participation giveth name of things,) he might be called the head of the Church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first who made this confession of Christ, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man.’

See also the remarkable arguments of Tonstal, on the Pope’s supremacy, in a sermon preached 1539, and reprinted in 1823.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

Object : see above, p. 104.

Reformatio Legum, ‘ de Hæresibus,’ c. 14 : ‘ Excludatur etiam ab eisdem Anabaptistis inducta bonorum et possessionum communitas, quam tantopere urgent, ut nemini quicquam relinquunt proprium et suum.’

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Object : see above, p. 104.

Reformatio Legum, ‘ de Hæresibus,’ c. 15 : ‘ Præterea nec juramentorum Anabaptistæ legitimum relinquunt usum, in quo contra Scripturarum sententiam et veteris Testamenti patrum exempla, Pauli etiam apostoli, imo Christi, imo Dei Patris, procedunt.’

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